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Adventures of Jonathan Corncob, Loyal American Refugee (1787)
A Commentary*

By R. W. G. VAIL

IT is stoutly maintained by some people that the late Mrs. O'Leary's cow was largely responsible for the scarcity of early books in the Windy City. Certain it is that that cantankerous early milker started a chain reaction that not only destroyed the city of Chicago but, which was much more serious, wiped out many thousands of rare books in the numerous private libraries of the local intelligentsia, including that of Ezra B. McCagg, Esquire, to whom our bibliographical grandfather, the late Joseph Sabin, mournfully dedicated the sixth volume of his *Dictionary*. Other untoward circumstances such as spring housecleaning and the literary taste of our native rodents have still further depleted the already slender supply of our first editions in the fields of belles-lettres and early American history. A recent writer tells us that an exterminator in Ohio baits his traps with the taped mating call of a female rat, but it is obvious that

* Read at the meeting of the Society in New York, January 27, 1956.

he would have far greater success by substituting a first edition of *Charlotte Temple* or the 1733 *Poor Richard's Almanack.*

It is therefore not at all surprising that there is a woeful dearth of copies of the literary works inspired by our revolt from the mother country in 1776. This revolutionary upheaval brought forth a goodly number of patriotic poets, several playwrights, and a small handful of novelists, but surviving copies of their writings are among our greatest rarities. In addition to a wealth of broadside ballads by Elisha Rich and the prolific poet Anon, the war brought into prominence such able versifiers as Joel Barlow, Timothy Dwight, Philip Freneau, Francis Hopkinson, David Humphreys, John Trumbull and the Negro poetess Phillis Wheatley, not to mention such British sympathizers as Myles Cooper and Major John André. We can still read with relish Freneau's *American Liberty,* Hopkinson's *The Battle of the Kegs,* Trumbull's *M'Fingal* and André's *Cow-Chace*; and of course everyone still whistles *Yankee Doodle,* our most typical military song since the French and Indian Wars.

Several interesting plays emerged from the smoke of battle and the accompanying political controversy, all but one of them having been published while the war was still on. They include Hugh Henry Brackenridge's dramatic poems *The Battle of Bunkers-Hill* and *The Death of General Montgomery* (which went through three editions), both of which were acted by the author's students and were distinguished for their superior literary style; and Jabez Peck's *Columbia and Brittannia,* also performed by that village schoolmaster's pupils on Long Island in 1786 and published the following year.[1] We also have John Leacock's *The Fall of British Tyranny,* which went through three editions; and the fiery Mercy Otis Warren's political and social satires: *The Adulateur; The Group,* which was so popular that editions were printed in Boston, New York and Philadelphia; *The Blockheads,*

[1] "The Manuscript of a Revolutionary War Play from Long Island," by R. W. G. Vail, in N.-Y. Hist. Soc. *Quarterly,* XL (January, 1956), 20-27. Illustrated.

which was written as an answer to Burgoyne's farce *The Blockade*; and *The Motley Assembly*. Among anonymous plays published during the war we find *The Battle of Brooklyn*, written by the British officers in New York to ridicule Washington's army; *The Blockheads* (not Mrs. Warren's) which was styled *An Opera* and which appeared both in New York and London; *The Double Conspiracy, or Treason Discovered but not Punished*; *The Downfall of Justice*, with two Danvers editions; *The Political Duenna, a Comic Opera*; and *A Sketch of the Times: or, the Cabinet Display'd*. In 1774, just before the war began, the Massachusetts Loyalist Jonathan Sewall published in dramatic form an attack on the rebels in general and the Continental Congress in particular entitled *The Americans Roused*. This first attempt at dramatic writing on the revolutionary theme has little to commend it except its violent partisan candor.

Moses Coit Tyler, in his *The Literary History of the American Revolution* (1897), mentions not a single historical novel based on "the times that tried men's souls." However, Robert B. Heilman's *America in English Fiction* (1937), records some 75 English titles of the eighteenth century in which the Revolutionary War served as a background for tales of adventure, romance and seduction. The only ones, however, which made any extensive use of the American scene seem to have been Samuel Jackson Pratt's *Emma Cobbett, the Miseries of Civil War* (1780), which was sympathetic to the Americans; Robert Bage's *Mount Henneth* (1781); Mrs. Charlotte Turner Smith's *Emmeline* (1788); and Mrs. Eliza Parsons' *The Voluntary Exile* (1795).

There seem to have been only five Revolutionary novels written in this country in the eighteenth century, and it is curious that the first of these was in French and probably published in Bruxelles in spite of its Philadelphia imprint, and that the second appeared in London. The other three were printed on this side of the water, and each was sufficiently popular to appear in several editions.

The first of these, based on the well-known story of the Indian murder of Jane McCrea, the American sweetheart of a young British officer, was written in this country by Michel René Hilliard d'Auberteuil (1751-1785) with the title: *Mis Mac Rea, Roman Historique* (Philadelphia [i.e., Bruxelles], 1784). Ten copies have been located.[2]

The second title is the *Adventures of Jonathan Corncob* (London, 1787), of which more anon; and the third, *Amelia, or the Faithless Briton,* the first fairly extensive Revolutionary tale by a native American. This appeared in two parts in the *Columbian Magazine,* Philadelphia, October and supplement to December, 1787 (copies are in The New-York Historical Society), and was reprinted in book form in Boston in 1798. The Revolution forms a very dim background indeed to this typical story of seduction which the author refers to as "a history of female affliction." It was reissued with other novels twice in 1798, and a German edition appeared in Baltimore in 1809, according to Wright.

The History of Constantia and Pulchera, or Constancy Rewarded, which used the Revolutionary War as a setting for personal adventures in which virtue was victorious after numerous heart-rending episodes, was the most popular of the lot, for it ran through eleven editions from Boston, 1794, to Concord, New Hampshire, 1834, with one to five copies of each edition known, as Mr. Wright tells us.[3]

The last of this interesting group, also anonymous, is *The Fortunate Discovery* (New York, 1798), with nine copies located by Wright, a Stockbridge reprint of the same year with two copies known, and a Salem edition of 1800. The subtitle states that it is "By a Young Lady of the State of New York," but the

[2] Sabin 31904; Hildeburn 4489; Vail, *Voice of the Old Frontier* 704; Lillie D. Loshe, *The Early American Novel* (1930), 61-64; J. T. Flanigan, *An Early Novel of the American Revolution,* in *New York History,* XXXII (July, 1951), 316-322. The story was favorably reviewed in the *Revue de Paris,* July 11, 1784.

[3] Lyle H. Wright, *Early American Fiction* (1948).

publisher neglects to name her. The tale is located in New York and New England in the period from 1770 to 1790.

To return to our real hero, Jonathan Corncob. Let's start with the title: *Adventures* | *of* | *Jonathan Corncob,* | *Loyal American Refugee.* | [French rule] | *Written by Himself.* | [French rule] | *Dulce est Desipere in Loco.*[4] | [French rule] | *London:* | *Printed for the Author;* | *and Sold by G. G. J. and G. Robinson,* | *Paternoster-Row; and R. Faulder,* | *New Bond-Street.* | [short French rule] | MDCCLXXXVII. [6], 213 p., 12mo. (17.5 x 10.5 cm.). The following nine copies have been located: British Museum, W. L. Clements Library, Columbia University, Harvard University, Louisiana State University, Newberry Library, The New-York Historical Society, Wisconsin Historical Society and Yale University Library. Peter Murray Hill of London sold another copy in 1954, and Henry Stevens, Son and Stiles offered a copy in 1955 for $275.00. The New-York Historical Society copy contains the heraldic bookplate of Buddle Atkinson, an Englishman with a name which should have been used by Dickens. Sabin 477 quotes from Obadiah Rich's *Bibliotheca Americana Nova* (1835), p. 342, who in turn quotes from the *Monthly Review,* Volume 77 (1787), p. 495-496, which says: "Jonathan's burlesque representations of the manners of his countryfolk, the fanatical New Englanders, form, we believe, on the whole, a tolerably good caricature resemblance of the lower classes in that country. . . . [The author] thought perhaps, that his ridicule of *the Jonathans* would render his work the more acceptable in this country." But the gentlemanly *Gentleman's Magazine,* December, 1787, p. 1095, took an extremely dim view of the volume which seems a little severe in this less critical age of Mickey Spillane. In common with Professor Robert B. Heilman, previously cited, and Mr. Peter Murray Hill, who sold the His-

[4] This apt quotation from Horace may be loosely translated: *Revelry is sweet* or, as we might say, *Hell-raising is fun.*

torical Society its copy, I cannot altogether agree with the stuffy reviewer that "The wit of this novel is low, and the ribaldry and impurity of it gross." I prefer Mr. Hill's comment that "the wit is genuine and original" and the hero's adventures "constitute a rollicking, red-blooded tale which stamps the author clearly as the American *Tom Jones*." He adds that "We almost presume to recognize in it the first instance of that typically dry, laconic American sense of humor which later flowered more openly in Mark Twain, and which today can be discerned in the columns of the *New Yorker*."[5]

Although we have no hint as to the identity of our author, we may at least hazard a guess as to what manner of man he is by the way he inadvertently reveals himself in his story. It is quite obvious that he is a devil-may-care young rascal with a not too restrained liking for feminine society and good liquor; he is a keen and sarcastic but not malicious observer of the world about him, with a dry sense of humor and a taste for the ludicrous. He is well educated and travels in good society except when he is painting the town red. Though his hero is pictured as a Loyalist, the author has less ill-will for the rebels than for the incompetents in the British Army and Navy, especially the latter whom he satirizes without mercy. In fact, his dislike for a certain type of pompous, cowardly British naval officer is so great, his detailed knowledge of the sea, nautical terms and practices and the handling of a ship in storm or battle so detailed, that it seems inevitable that he must be a British naval officer or at least a purser or supercargo on a British merchant ship. He is thoroughly familiar with Boston and New York and with Bridgetown in Barbados, where he describes the life in city and plantation and strongly disapproves of the ill treatment of the slaves. His sympathy for them came from actual observation and from humanitarian feelings not found elsewhere in his story. Though his humor is broad, his wit often coarse, his dialogue stilted and

[5] Peter Murray Hill catalogue 50 (1954), No. 1.

his plot a mere stringing together of disconnected incidents, he is no worse than his contemporaries, and a far better novelist than most of the other eighteenth-century writers who have tried to tell their stories with a Revolutionary War background.

Outside of the fact that the yarn is amusing for any modern reader with a strong stomach and an appreciation of the age in which it was written, it has several reasons for claiming our interest.[6] To begin with, it may well be the first publication to use the character of Jonathan to typify the Yankee personality with its shrewd, dry wit, its inquisitiveness and ability to look out for Number One. It is one of the first novels to contain any attempt at Yankee dialect or to show the sound of the Yankee's nasal twang. To the philologist the book is of no little interest for the early use of certain now obsolete Americanisms.

Though the American characters are caricatured, they are shrewdly drawn from the actual observation of a humorous author with a strongly developed sense of the ridiculous, and you have a feeling that the author, unlike his British contemporaries, wrote out of his own experience. The settings are real and recognizable. Hancock's wharf and Hull's tavern were famous spots in Boston and New York. Of course, the war is used only as a setting for the hero's adventures, and you have a feeling that the author cared little whether it went in favor of the British or the Americans. The story is still interesting reading, and is in striking contrast to the sickly sentimentality, the unreality of place and episode of the contemporary fiction on both sides of the water. It was written from real life to make the reader roar with laughter and so stands out as unique in the welter of mawkish tear-jerkers of the times.

Now let us briefly follow our hero through his adventures. At the beginning of the story Jonathan Corncob was a distressed

[6] Professor Heilman shrewdly suggests a parallel between the character of Jonathan Corncob and that of the impecunious Tory, Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford (1753-1814).

Loyalist, a baldish young man of 24, a British purser on half pay, banished from England because of an unpaid tailor's bill. But he was a native American. He tells us that: "my honoured father, Mr. Habakkuk Corncob ... was a rigid presbyterian; he considered any man who played cards as irrevocably d—n'd, as well as any one who walked out on a Sunday." He was a storekeeper and farmer whose entire library consisted of the Bible, *Pilgrim's Progress* and the almanac, which was "his oracle, and directed all his operations." His wife Charity was "an excellent woman: she bred like a rabbit, scolded all day like a cat in love; and snored all night as loud as the foreman of a jury on a tedious trial." Jonathan also had a one-eyed maiden aunt, Bathsheba, who died in a fit of temper in an argument with his father regarding her age. Her ghost haunted the family either in the form of a wild turkey or a black cat, and even after death always had the last word.

In his store Jonathan's father sold "butter, cheese, spike-nails, rye meal, shuttlecocks, New-England rum, hartshorn shavings, broad cloth, gunpowder and yellow basilicon." Our hero was not only an excellent student in the three Rs and Latin but "excelled in walking in snow shoes, driving a sled, shooting squirrels and bobbing for eels but [as he tells us] of all my amusements none had such charms for me as bundling." "I had already bundled with half the girls in the neighborhood, when my evil genius led me to pay a visit to Miss Desire Slawbunk, one evening when her father and mother were gone out." In the ensuing conversation the author gives us a sample of the local dialect, italicizing the Yankeeisms so that they would not be overlooked by his English readers:

> "I swear now, Miss Desire," said I, "I am come to *tarry* a little with you." "I guess you *be* very welcome, Mr. Jonathan." "It is *considerable* of a cold night." "Yes," answered Desire, "*some cold.*"

A little later in the proceedings Jonathan observed: "Miss

Slawbunk," said I, "it seems to me that you be *considerable* ticklish." A few months later our hero, having declined an invitation to a shotgun wedding, "sold to some British officers, prisoners on parole in the neighborhood, a quantity of [his] father's New England spirits, and exchanged with them all the brown paper-money of the congress [he] could collect, for twenty hard dollars, . . . [and] determined to set off for New-York, then in the possession of the British troops."

In a wild, Munchausen-like journey on his way to Boston, Jonathan jumped from a tree to the back of a "moose deer" and, having ridden on its back all night, finally stabbed it to death and had steak for breakfast. Arriving in Boston, he witnessed the tar-and-feathering of a man who had fished out of the harbor one of the chests of tea thrown overboard by the Boston Tea Party some time before, and who had unfortunately offered the tea for sale. Our hero soon found a berth as clerk on a Yankee privateer and sailed out of the Bay. Off Cape Cod his captain found himself engaged with a British ship.

> At four P.M. our captain turning round to me, had only time to say, "I *snort* now, brother Jonathan, they *blaaze away* like *daavils*;" when a cannon-ball broke his head, to my great astonishment. At this moment I believe we should have struck, if the English ship had not had a drum and fife upon deck playing yankee doodle: our indignation at the insult kept up our courage, and we continued the action till five P.M. when the enemy hauled his wind.

This episode not only shows our author's appreciation of the vernacular, but his considerable knowledge of the technicalities of a naval engagement. In spite of the captain's astonishing Jonathan by losing his head, the privateer won the engagement. Soon after, Jonathan tells us,

> We met with a Dutchman, bound from Curassoa to Amsterdam. Our lieutenant, who commanded, had been, before the war, a cod fisherman in these latitudes, and as he had never been accustomed to return to port without catching something, he hit upon the expedient of hoisting English-

colours, and plundering the Hollander . . . and returned to port, the stratagem . . . being universally applauded by his countrymen.

Having made some unfortunately disparaging remarks about the instability of the continental currency, Jonathan was thrown into jail charged with high treason, and was threatened with a tar-and-feathering to boot. Since this program did not at all appeal to him, our hero and several other prisoners managed to escape from the prison, steal a schooner at Hancock's wharf, sail into the Bay and join a British ship lurking there. After a number of shipboard adventures which gave the author an opportunity to pay his disrespects to the officers of the British Navy, they sailed into New York harbor and Jonathan joined some Loyalists in plundering the countryside in Connecticut and New Jersey.

He took lodgings with a woman shopkeeper in the city who had a charming niece, Dinah Donewell, who unfortunately had fits which he attempted to cure, with considerable success. One evening they went for a walk and the hero tells us:

I snatched a kiss or two. Dinah at first called out get *aloong*, let me *alo-one*; but soon after she sunk down softly on the grass.

Jonathan continues: "But as these amusements sometimes grew tiresome, I passed some of the evenings . . . at Hull's Tavern." This famous Tory hangout was at 115 Broadway, and the author doubtless spent many a happy evening there among his cronies. Having picked a fight with a rebel for disparaging the King's latest speech, Jonathan started on his tipsy way homeward. In a fracas with a drunken sentinel, he nearly had his head shot off; but he escaped with no more serious injury than the loss of his wig, which he soon made good by stealing one from a soldier about to be hanged for pilfering. Somewhat later he noted that "During the war in America, I was present at the execution of several soldiers, and observed that it seldom happened that a Hessian was punished for marauding. Whenever the troops of

that nation saw anything in an American house which suited them, they begged it in a civil way; though at the same time using an argument that was unanswerable—'If you vas one frynd to the Koning,' said Lieut. *Hastendudendrot* of the *Trumbrick* regiment, 'you vas gif me your vatch; if you vas one repell, by Got I take it.' "

Shortly after his fight at Hull's Tavern, Jonathan sailed for Rhode Island on his majesty's ship the *Oddfish*, Captain Furnace commanding. In the course of a conversation between the captain, his lieutenant, and Captain O'Sneak of the Army regarding Burgoyne's surrender and Howe's taking of Philadelphia, the satirical author has another opportunity to burlesque the incompetent officers of his majesty's services.

Having returned to New York, after a brief affair with a Tory girl named Dolly in Rhode Island, Jonathan was welcomed at his old lodgings. He was surprised and delighted to find among the roomers who had arrived during his absence none other than his old flame Desire Slawbunk, now the wife of Captain Seeclear of the British Army, as well as his own parents, four brothers and two sisters, recently arrived refugees from New England.

Of course Jonathan asked his father for an account of *his* adventures and soon learned that his venerable parent had been arrested for passing counterfeit money and accordingly thrown into jail. He continued:

> After I had been there three months, I obtained permission to go and tarry three days with my spouse Charity; but as soon as it was known that Corncob the tory was arrived, the whole neighborhood assembled, and declared, that there was more pleasure in hunting a tory than in hunting a *skunk*. They dragged me directly from the arms of your mother, to whom I had scarcely spoken, and forming a lane according to the laudable custom of the Indians, they made me run the gantlet. When I had got to the end, lieutenant-general Hand[7] came up, and asked what was the matter. "We are only giving *considerable of a basting* to this old tory."

[7] The gallant Pennsylvania soldier, Brigadier General (1776) Edward Hand, later (1777) Adjutant General, who was finally breveted Major General in 1783.

—"I swear now," said he, "that's *grand*—let him go it again." I was obliged to run through them a second time, and got off better than could be expected, for I had only my left arm and both collar-bones broke, and my skull fractured. I was more than four months under cure, and as I heard I was threatened with such another sample I contrived to get away, with the whole family, and by travelling in the night, by the assistance of our brother tories and God's providence, we all came safe to New York.

Jonathan then continues *his* narrative: "As my youngest sister was extremely pretty, I was soon after this affair appointed acting purser of a frigate going to Barbadoes." On going ashore at Bridgetown he repaired to a coffee house, where he ran across one of the men who had escaped with him from the Boston jail, and who turned out to be a prosperous planter to whose nearby plantation Jonathan was promptly invited and royally entertained according to the customs of the country. He describes in considerable detail the life around him, admires the scenery and easy living, deplores the unfortunate condition of the slaves, and, every now and then, exclaims: "What a pity that Barbadoes should be so subject to hurricanes!" This goes on for some time until they are really visited by a hurricane, have some exciting and ludicrous adventures, and he finally returns to New York.

In no time at all our hero became the purser of the armed brig *Despair*, of which the redoubtable Captain Quid was captain. They sailed away to win fame for the royal navy, but met a "Picaroon American privateer" which demanded their surrender in a burlesque dialogue shouted back and forth between the two ships by their captains. The shrewd Yankee finally outbluffed the cowardly Briton, who surrendered at last without firing a shot when he found that the enemy ship carried two more cannon than his own.

Having surrendered, Jonathan encountered his opposite number on the American privateer who, as he says,

gave me a very civil reception, and begged a sight of the little baggage I

had brought on board. "Your bedding," said he, ordering a sailor to take it up, "is considerable nice bedding, and according to the *rudiments* of the navy, I guess it belongs to me. Your clothes and linen are in that trunk, I suppose?" "Yes," said I. "How many shirts are there?" "Two dozen." "I swear now," said he, "that's grand;" making a sign to his boy to carry the trunk into his cabin; "but," added he, "if you should tarry ten or twelve days on board, before we get into port, and should want a change of linen, I'll lend you a shirt with all my soul, for I swear now I am always glad when I can assist a brother officer in distress."

Having sailed back to Boston, Jonathan was thrown into jail once more, robbed by the jailer of his purse and watch and put in irons. During the night he discovers his old friend Mrs. Desire Slawbunk Seeclear in the adjoining room. She comes in, tells of her husband's untimely end and her own lively adventures as a camp follower in both armies, and finally gets her friend the jailer to release Jonathan from his shackles. After further adventures in jail with Desire, the jailer and his wife, all four of whom appear very confused as to their relations to one another, our hero and the other prisoners start their return voyage to New York on the transport *Nancy*. A storm comes up, the blustering Captain Quid shows the white feather, and the ship is wrecked off Rhode Island, but most of the ship's company is saved and they finally reach New York by land. Then Captain Quid is apprehended for having lost his ship to the Yankee privateer, but he is acquitted in a burlesque British naval court-martial.

The author, having gotten Jonathan safely back to dry land, closes his story with a bit of philosophizing. After finding many puzzling contradictions and inconsistencies in his studies of theology, science, history and nature, he makes the following sage observations:

Disappointed every where in my search of truth, I determined to give it up, and have since read nothing but novels. As in works of this kind, I expect only fiction, whenever I meet with a just observation, or a char-

acter drawn after nature, I consider it as clear gain. I advise my reader to follow my example, and assure him, that that part of the adventures of Jonathan Corncob he has already perused, as well as in the sequel I may hereafter offer to the public, there is more truth, than is sometimes to be found in books with more promising titles.

Portrait of a Philadelphia Collector: William McIntire Elkins (1882-1947)*

By Ellen Shaffer

IN a recent letter to me a bibliophile remarked, "So little is known of Philadelphian collectors (they are not a breed to boast of their holdings)." To one like myself, reared in the traditions of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, the whole wonderful old city of Philadelphia seems under-publicized, as do its collectors who have so much and say so little.

This is a sketchily drawn portrait of one of the most modest of them all; a Philadelphian whom I have come to know through the recollections of those who did know him, and through his books of which I am now the happy custodian.

The first likeness of William McIntire Elkins I ever saw was the portrait by R. W. Vonnoh which today hangs in the Elkins Room at the Free Library; it shows him as a little boy of nine seated in his grandfather's library, and in his hands is a familiar olive-green book with green edges—a volume of Henty. At that age he had discovered books, and he was already assembling a collection of his favorite author, George Alfred Henty, a collection which was later enjoyed by his own children and which is in the possession of his daughter today.

He had been born on September 3, 1882, into a family of traction magnates, and great wealth was his birthright. His boyhood home at Broad and Girard Avenues in Philadelphia was a vast mansion which is now the Majestic Hotel. Across the street lived his cousin, Harry Elkins Widener, three years younger than himself. The grandfathers of these two lads, P. A. B. Widener

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and William Lukens Elkins, were lifelong business associates and friends. They had built huge houses for their families across the street from each other, their children had grown up together, and George Widener had married Nellie Elkins.

The two cousins were congenial and had a common interest: books. "Their grandfathers had been aggressive and enterprising capitalists—the grandsons were to become quiet, reserved men who took pleasure in building up their collections and who had a limited circle of close friends."

In his undergraduate days at Harvard most of young Elkins' allowance went to booksellers. He once told a schoolmate that his idea of a truly enjoyable binge was to buy half a dozen chocolate éclairs, a few bottles of beer, provide himself with three or four novels (probably mystery stories), and thus fortified, he would read the night away.

In 1905 he was graduated from Harvard, and that same June he married the beautiful Miss Elizabeth Tuckerman of Ipswich, Massachusetts. A year later he was settled in his lifelong profession of investment banking (the choice was his father's rather than his own), and he had already found his way to the door of Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach. He was buying more or less at random, as young collectors usually do—extra-illustrated books, color-plate books, and an occasional volume of Dickens, Thackeray, and Lever. His cousin, Harry Widener, was following a similar buying pattern. First editions of Stephen Phillips, Henry Arthur Jones, and Arthur Wing Pinero were also early enthusiasms of young Elkins, and he had a token collection of George Bernard Shaw. Both cousins enjoyed collecting Stevenson. Harry Widener, of course, continued in this interest and built up a great collection. William Elkins turned to other fields, but he used to say that he learned on Stevenson. This collection, although small, contained one rarity—a sketchbook of Stevenson's with pen-and-ink drawings, water colors, and a few original poems. Perhaps it was about this time that Mr. Elkins also made the

delightful little Kate Greenaway collection that his daughter has today.

The Restoration Theatre appealed to him, and he bought slender volumes of Dryden, Congreve, and Wycherley. He soon decided that that field was too diffuse, for already he felt the satisfaction that comes from collecting in a more limited range where one can achieve near-completion.

His first major collection was of Goldsmith, whose writings he enjoyed and admired. During his college years he had seen a play called *Oliver Goldsmith.* "It was the first time," he says, "that I had ever seen the actors mingle with the audience—Samuel Johnson, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Boswell, David Garrick, all sitting in a box & Oliver Goldsmith wandering up and down the aisle directing a rehearsal of *She Stoops to Conquer.*"[1] This memory captured his imagination, and no one has collected Goldsmith with more thoroughness. He acquired first editions, variants, and letters. His first edition of the *Vicar* was in contemporary calf, and it had belonged to Mrs. Horneck, mother of Mary Horneck, the Jessamy Bride. He had over fifty different editions of this title. He acquired the papers of John Newbery, which include Goldsmith's accounts with that publisher and show Goldsmith's painful experiences as a hack writer. There are even pitiful records of his indebtedness to his landlady for washing, mending, sassafras, and tea. Garrick's original manuscript of "An Extempore Epitaph" on Oliver Goldsmith which occasioned *Retaliation* is there, as is a collection of correspondence in which every member of that famous organization "The Club" is represented. *Threnodia Augustalis* had belonged to Horace Walpole. It is one of two known copies; the other is in the Widener Memorial Library at Harvard. One copy of the first

[1] From "A Note on this Collection" with which Mr. Elkins prefaced the excellent exhibit catalogue prepared by Dr. John Powell, *The Life and Works of Charles Dickens, 1812-1870, An Exhibition from the Collection of William M. Elkins, Esq. of Philadelphia, held at The Free Library June-July, 1946.* As far as I know, this was the only time that Mr. Elkins wrote anything for publication in regard to his collections.

edition of *The Citizen of the World* had belonged to Dickens; perhaps it was an unconscious indication of Mr. Elkins' next important collection.

In Austin Dobson's *Life of Goldsmith* (1888), there is a bibliography of Goldsmith by John P. Anderson. Mr. Elkins used this as a guide in the beginning and rapidly outgrew it. Since he knew its deficiencies, he felt the need for another bibliography. "I made a laborious study of all the items," says Mr. Elkins, "in the most elaborate bibliographical manner. I would hold one edition in my left hand and another in my right comparing them page by page and line by line, until I grew heartily sick of the whole bibliographical business. I had made extensive notes and brought them all together in a manuscript which I supposed would have been as detailed a study of Goldsmith as existed up to that time."[2]

During the First World War Mr. Elkins had the notes with him in Washington (he was a lieutenant in the Naval Reserve), and, in some inexplicable way, they were lost and never recovered. He had no heart to do the work over again, and eventually he hired Temple Scott to write a bio-bibliography of Goldsmith, an account of the Elkins collection which was published in 1928.

Since bibliographical technicalities had wearied him, he resolved to have more sheer enjoyment with his next collection, and he decided to make it a sentimental one.

The fact that he suddenly had an unparalleled opportunity to secure such a collection may have prompted the decision. Harry B. Smith, who in 1914 had issued the catalogue of his famed Sentimental Library, was obliged to sell it. Dr. Rosenbach was eager to buy it. Edwin Wolf 2d recalls that then as on later occasions, Mr. Elkins advanced money to Rosenbach. (One of these occasions was in the case of the Perry Library where, to insure an immediate return of part of the investment, Dr. Rosenbach had interested P. A. B. Widener II and his sister

[2] *Ibid.*

Josephine Widener in the Four Folios of Shakespeare in the Perry Collection, which they agreed to purchase for $60,000. The sale went through and the Folios were presented to the Free Library in memory of their father, Joseph Widener.)

The Sentimental Library was a project after Mr. Elkins' own heart. He made the necessary loan to Dr. Rosenbach, who purchased the collection *en bloc*. As Edwin Wolf remembers it, Mr. Elkins was given, as his profit for lending this money, the three presentation Keats first editions which were in the collection. *Poems* in the original boards was inscribed by Keats to Richardson. *Endymion* in contemporary calf was a gift of the poet to his brother George, and *Lamia*, also in original boards, had a presentation inscription from Keats to J. H. Reynolds. For purchase Mr. Elkins singled out five other examples of what he called "literiana" (the word was his own and meant those delightful books which were not an actual part of his special collections, but which might well be in any collection of English literature). They were Charles Lamb's worn copy of Drayton's works in which he had written over 1,700 lines, mostly from old ballads; Thackeray's sketchbook, the copy of *Vanity Fair* which the author had given the Marchioness of Normanby, and fine sets of *The Newcomes* and *The Virginians* in parts.

The real interest that Mr. Elkins had in the Sentimental Library, however, was in the Dickens holdings. He purchased forty-two books by Charles Dickens, all of them rare and twenty-four of them presentation copies. There were volumes given by Dickens to his aunt, to his sister, to his daughters, to such intimate friends as Thomas Talfourd (to whom he dedicated *Pickwick*), and to such celebrities as Victor Hugo.

The greatest rarity in the entire Sentimental Library was a presentation set of *Pickwick*, which has generally been conceded, except for manuscripts, to be the most notable single Dickens item in existence. The recipient was not a great literary figure nor anyone of importance. She was a charming girl of seventeen;

her name was Mary Hogarth, she was Charles Dickens' sister-in-law, and he probably was more sincerely devoted to her than to anyone else in his entire life. She made her home with the Dickens family, and as each number of *Pickwick* appeared, it was inscribed to her. Shortly after Part XIV was issued, she died suddenly, and the author was so affected by her death that he was unable to continue with *Pickwick* for a time. The remaining parts he gave to her father, George Hogarth, who in turn presented them to one of Mary's friends, a Miss Walker. The history of this set of *Pickwick* is a story in itself. The parts went out to India and then came back again. An alert bookseller who recognized them for what they were once saved them from the binder's knife. Their owner at that time wished to have them rebound so that the children could read them. Later another owner, William Wright, had them placed in the handsome green and black morocco slip case in which they rest today. William Wright was, I venture to say, a man of books in a far deeper, fuller sense than any member of the Bibliographical Society—he not only collected them, he also made them at the Paris race tracks where he was the leading bookmaker of the '80s. And did Mr. Elkins acquire this, the greatest prize of the Sentimental Library? You are absolutely right, he did, and his daughter still recalls his jubilation.

Other additions were made to the Dickens collection from time to time—the original sketches done by Hablôt K. Browne for *Copperfield*, *Dombey*, and *Bleak House*; the copy of *Chuzzlewit* which Dickens gave to Hans Christian Andersen, and the broadside of *The Great International Walking-Match*. Dickens' memorabilia pleased Mr. Elkins. In his library he sat at a desk used by Dickens for years on whose surface the imprint of the author's signature still shows faintly, and on the desk were Dickens' own postal scales, matchsafe and twine holder.

The joy of acquiring a great treasure which everyone knows about is only exceeded by discovering one which no one has pre-

viously known about. Mr. Elkins experienced that pleasure, too. Mr. George J. C. Grasberger, newspaperman and freelance bookseller, while rummaging through a pile of odds and ends at Henkel's about 1925 came across an unusual sketchbook called *Metamorphoses*. The pages were folded in such a way that, after one had admired a sketch as it first appeared, half the sheet could be lifted and an interesting combination formed with the sketch beneath. The elephant's head might be matched cleverly with the owl's body, or the giraffe's body might have the head of a swan. Mr. Grasberger intuitively knew what he had found; it was the little book of sketches which Thackeray made about 1853 for the children of his friend, Mr. William B. Read of Philadelphia, with whom he stayed during this first visit to America. Needless to say, another Philadelphian welcomed the little volume to his shelves, and his daughter again remembers his glee.

The last and greatest collection which Mr. Elkins formed was his favorite. Like many another collector he finally found Americana irresistible, and, he even sold his magnificent collection of Stiegel glass to acquire Americana items. He kept few notes on the other collections, but his card file of Americana makes it possible to follow his progress. At the Turner and Munn sale held in New York in 1926 he found more books for this growing collection, and one must have rejoiced his heart—Cotton Mather's own copy of Manton's *Practical Commentary* of 1662 went to him for only $8.00. Few pleasures are greater than getting such a bargain.

The Leconfield sale held at Sotheby's in London in 1928 brought on the market such treasures as are found only once in a lifetime. One-third of the entire amount realized by the sale —over £21,000—was paid by Dr. Rosenbach, who was buying for Mr. Elkins. The outstanding rarity of this sale was an unpublished manuscript, *A Trewe Relatyon of the Procedinge and Occurrentes of Momente which have happened in Virginia*, written about 1625 by George Percy, soldier of fortune, enemy of Captain

John Smith, and deputy governor of Virginia during the years 1609-1612. (The manuscript is still unpublished.) Another item which might cause an Americana collector sleepless nights was the manuscript map of the Northwest Passage drawn by Dr. John Dee for Sir Humphrey Gilbert about 1583, just before Sir Humphrey took off on his last and fatal voyage to Newfoundland. (The first Englishman to establish a colony in the New World, he was a half brother of Sir Walter Raleigh.) These two great Americana items and thirteen others of almost equal importance quietly crossed the Atlantic and found a place in Mr. Elkins' library.

Other sales turned up other books; the Leiter, Goelet, Jeffrey and Breaker sales are noted in his card file. One of his most exciting acquisitions during the period was Bigges' *Summarie and True Discourse of Sir Francis Drake's West Indian Voyages* with the folding maps or city plans in a separate portfolio. The English text describing the four city plans is on a single sheet as originally printed and is unique in that state. More important, there is a sheet with the same text in French, and of this no other copy is known.

Eleven years after the Leconfield sale, came another opportunity. Mr. Elkins had evidently been using Herschel V. Jones's *Adventures in Americana* as one yardstick by which he measured his collection. He had acquired thirty-six titles in that list when in 1939 the Herschel V. Jones Library was offered for sale. Again Rosenbach was desirous of buying the entire collection, and again he secured from Mr. Elkins the necessary financial backing. Mr. Elkins, in return, of course, was able to choose certain books for his collection. He bought a total of 116 titles, sixty-three of which were among the rarities described in *Adventures in Americana*. Thirty-eight of these were in the period of early voyages and discoveries. They included such books as the copy of the Columbus Letter from the Sir Thomas Phillipps collection and Job Hortop's *Travailes of an English man* (London,

1591), the first account of Mexico by an Englishman and one of three copies located by the *Short-Title Catalogue*. Nine Ptolemies were included in this section also. In the period of Early Settlements 1608-1784, Mr. Elkins added 77 titles, 24 of which were in *Adventures in Americana*. There were eighteen Mathers among them. In the period from 1784-1926, Mr. Elkins bought only one book—the Hoe copy of Filson's *Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke* (1784), with the map.

The Jones books comprised one-third of Mr. Elkins' Americana holdings; the other two-thirds he acquired over a period of twenty years.

He was an exacting and discriminating collector. When one examines a book from his shelves it usually proves to be all that one could hope for and more. Benzoni's *Historia del Mondo Nuovo* (Venice, 1565) is a fine copy and it bears the neat signature of the cartographer, Ortelius, to whom it once belonged. Hubbard's *Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians* (1677) is in its original binding—the work of John Ratcliff, who came in 1663 to bind the Eliot Indian Bible and was the first professional binder known to have practiced his trade in colonial America. (Mr. Elkins had the Eliot New Testament—George Livermore's copy.) The Hakluyt *Divers Voyages* (1582) has the rare Thorne map. The set of De Bry's Voyages is from the Holford library, collated and annotated by the Earl of Crawford, whose comment on the English edition Part I is that it is a very fine copy indeed, high praise from a restrained Scotchman, which applies to the set as a whole. When our Americana specialist, Howell Heaney, started checking the collection, he was heard to murmur, "Imagine being paid to look at books like these."[3]

The total count of titles in the Elkins collection of Americana is about 320, and two-thirds of them are before the year 1701. It is a small collection, but a highly selective one. There is also

[3] A check-list of Mr. Elkins' Americana holdings, prepared by Howell J. Heaney, is appended to this article.

his collection of early American prints—his Reveres and his Doolittles—but that, at this time, is too long a story.

Book collecting was only one part of Mr. Elkins' busy life. A newspaper article described him as financier, clubman, welfare leader, trustee and director of numerous organizations, senior member of an investment firm, and a member of the New York and Philadelphia stock exchanges. His pioneer work with the old Philadelphia Welfare Federation earned him the name of "Welfare Bill." As an efficient businessman he felt that individual campaigns by various charities duplicated effort, and he was one of the first to advocate the united charities drive now known as the Community Chest. Books were sandwiched into a busy day; he usually got up at 5:30 A.M., had coffee in the library, and worked with his collections until about eight.

Like most collectors, he sometimes entertained the thought of selling his books at auction. He was eager to see how well he had done—how much his judgments were justified. Like most collectors, however, he wanted to have an auction and, at the same time, have his books. He made various preparatory notes from time to time, but he never took serious steps in regard to an auction. It would be interesting to know if the auction of the library of his old friend A. Edward Newton influenced him in any way. After that sale at least one collector decided that he could never bear to have his books separated, and he gave them to an institution. Mr. Elkins may have come to feel the same way.

His book friendships were usually concentrated and of many years' standing. He and his cousin Harry Widener must have had happy times with their books before Harry Widener was lost on the *Titanic* at the age of 27. Probably about the time that Mr. Elkins became a customer of Dr. Rosenbach in 1906, he first met A. Edward Newton. Ellis Ames Ballard, the Kipling collector, was his friend, as was Morris Parrish, whose great Victorian collection is now at Princeton. The members of the

Philobiblon Club were other associates in the joys of book collecting.

Much of his book buying was done through the two Philadelphia firms of Rosenbach and Sessler. From 1908 on he bought occasionally from Maggs Brothers, and B. F. Stevens, Quaritch, and Francis Edwards were other London firms with whom he did business. The names of Goodspeed, Harper, Heartman, and Henkel appear in his brief Americana records. He picked up various books at auction, usually through Philadelphia dealers.

He had not wished to be a banker; his daughter says he wanted to be an architect, and a newspaper article once mentioned that he would have liked to have been a publisher. The fact that he was devoted to literature, music, and art did not, however, keep him from being an exceedingly competent financier, and his tremendous knowledge of securities did not interfere with the warm-hearted, sentimental enthusiasm he had for his books. He was an independent collector. Booksellers and fellow collectors undoubtedly gave suggestions and advice, but he seems very definitely to have known where he was going.

Most collectors are fairly voluble, but Mr. Elkins usually let others express themselves. In a group he had the gift of drawing others out. Perhaps it was just as well. He was often one of a trio that included A. Edward Newton and Dr. Rosenbach, and it has been suggested that in such a group there was need for one good listener. Possibly the only time he ever made a public talk on books was one evening at the Free Library of Philadelphia, when he was reluctantly pressed into service because Dr. Rosenbach, the scheduled speaker, had become ill. He suffered agonies of nervousness beforehand, but he was an excellent extemporaneous speaker, and those who heard him that evening twelve years ago have never forgotten it.

He had, I believe, only one "book" to his credit: *Eddie Newton's Ride,* which he planned to issue in a very limited edition for himself and A.E.N. Mr. Newton, however, read the series

of jingles at a meeting of the Book Table, and that organization got permission to publish it and sell it for the benefit of their Booksellers Benevolent Fund. Newton used to inform Mr. Elkins of the varying market prices of this little booklet, and they both were very pleased when it reached $11.00.

Among his friends he is remembered as a peacemaker and one who fled from any discord. It was hard for him to be cross with anyone. The butler who was daily drunk on the job would be fired by the exasperated Mrs. Elkins. He would then pour protestations of sorrow and a willingness to reform into the ears of his good-natured employer, and Mrs. Elkins on coming down to breakfast next morning would find the penitent meekly going about his duties. A short time later the whole incident would be repeated.

When he traveled he was very much himself—an American and a Philadelphian. His daughter says that he used to like to stand and frankly admire the New York skyscrapers, instead of showing how much at home he was by feigning indifference to them. After all, he wasn't at home. In Europe he was an unaffected American. He never learned a foreign language. His daughter's French was fluent, but he disdained her help and insisted on addressing the French in plain, straightforward American. Somehow they always understood him. A favorite pastime abroad was to go into a shop and buy peppermints for the local children, who, naturally enough, followed him in droves.

He was a quiet, conservative person, a Republican and an Episcopalian. He enjoyed his great wealth, the houses he owned, the yacht in which he spent his leisure off the Maine coast, and the books which he was able to buy. His was not the hearty exuberance of the person who has suddenly come into wealth; he was born to it and he took it for granted. He could afford to be unpretentious. On one occasion when he was in New York an unexpected engagement necessitated evening clothes, which he

was obliged to rent. He found the suit comfortable and he liked it. Next day, instead of returning it, he bought it.

Lessing Rosenwald once remarked that Bill Elkins was the sweetest man he ever knew, and his lifelong friend and business partner, Caspar W. Morris, said that he was the kindliest man in the world. A. Edward Newton in a letter to Dr. Rosenbach once remarked that he was "as good as he was rich."

After Mr. Elkins built his beautiful home, "Briar Hill," at Whitemarsh, and life seemed unusually pleasant, he experienced a series of tragedies. Both his sons died suddenly, and after a period of invalidism, his wife also died. Mr. Elkins later married Lisa Norris Harrison. She was especially interested in modern art and enjoyed collecting the paintings of such artists as Pissarro, Matisse, Renoir, Degas, and Van Gogh, and so Mr. Elkins collected them with her and devoted less time to his books. He did, however, make one more notable addition to his library.

One noon he appeared at Sessler's, as he so often did, and informed Mabel Zahn that he would like some of the water-color paintings of Beatrix Potter, the creator of Peter Rabbit. A little investigation showed that chances of getting such material were few indeed; practically all of Miss Potter's work was held by the Tate Gallery in London. Many months later, however, the good fortune that favors book collectors came to the rescue. The original manuscript of *The Tailor of Gloucester*, Beatrix Potter's favorite of all her works, together with the first dainty illustrations she had painted for it, was to be sold at auction at Sotheby's. The manuscript had been written for Freda, the daughter of Beatrix Potter's dear friend and former governess. Freda, or some member of her family, had evidently been forced to part with this treasure. Miss Zahn notified Mr. Elkins, who was at this time very ill, and he sent her word that she was to buy it. When she asked for more specific instructions, she received the most dan-

gerous and powerful weapon any dealer can bring into the auction rooms, an unlimited bid.

It had been estimated that the little manuscript would bring the equivalent of $2,000. However, an unknown bidder gave sharp competition that day and only withdrew when the price had reached over £1,000. It was later learned that the unknown bidder represented the city of Gloucester. Could Mrs. William Heelis of Sawrey, the hearty old soul whom Beatrix Potter became, have lived to have known about this, she doubtless would have applauded. Mrs. Heelis had great enthusiasm for Americans.

When the manuscript was ready for delivery, Miss Zahn was delighted to learn that Mr. Elkins was having a good day. It was sent out to him, he thoroughly enjoyed looking it over, and presented it to Mrs. Elkins. That night an unexpected relapse brought on the end. It was June 5, 1947, and he was not yet sixty-five. The original manuscript of *The Tailor of Gloucester* had been his last purchase, and it was one worthy of him.

After his death, his heirs, who had been instructed to give such books, manuscripts, and prints as they might select to the Free Library of Philadelphia, of which he had been a trustee for sixteen years, chose to interpret the will liberally, and gave the entire magnificent collection. His daughter, Mrs. Goran Holmquist, with inspired generosity suggested that the actual library room itself be given to house the books. The sixty-two-foot paneled library room and its furnishings were, therefore, removed from "Briar Hill" at Whitemarsh and set up again on the third floor of the Free Library of Philadelphia in the Rare Book Department, some ten miles from their original location.

Today the Elkins Room is one of the finest assets a public library ever had. Last year booklovers from twenty-nine states and thirty foreign countries visited it. A reception for visiting trustees was given during the American Library Association Conference of 1955, and one of Mr. Elkins' old butlers, now

employed by a local caterer, bustled about the familiar room serving refreshments. This is the sort of thing that happens in Philadelphia.

Mr. Elkins' library is used and loved and appreciated. In the midst of a huge and busy public library, it is a core of peace and quiet. I believe everyone who goes into it feels more relaxed. Books of four centuries are there, and of all man's achievements books are, perhaps, the greatest. A soldier who visited the Elkins Room the other day looked around wonderingly and said, "You know, this place rests you."

One day the director of the library, Emerson Greenaway, and I stood talking in the Elkins Room. From his picture on the wall the little boy with the volume of Henty looked out solemnly at us and at the library which he had assembled as a mature man —the library where he loved to show books to those who enjoyed them. I asked, "Did you ever know Mr. Elkins?" He answered "No," and added, wistfully, "But wouldn't you have liked to?" I would have—very much indeed.

THE AMERICANA COLLECTION OF WILLIAM M. ELKINS

A Check-List: 1493-1869

Compiled by HOWELL J. HEANEY

The entries in the list which follows are arranged by years and within each year alphabetically by author, or by title, in the case of anonymous works. The form of entry is that used by Mr. Eames in the check-list of Herschel V. Jones's collection of Americana. With the exception of a few early titles, which are given in conventional form, the titles, although shortened, follow the spelling and punctuation of the originals. The imprints, on the other hand, are abbreviated to place, printer (with forenames reduced to initials), and date (in arabic numerals regardless of the form of the original). The note to each entry gives the size of the book by fold of sheet; variations from standard descriptions, if any; the

provenance of the copy, if known; and references to the major bibliographies and check-lists. Only the most unusual bindings have been described. Many of the early books in the collection are in bindings by Bedford, Pratt, Rivière, and Sangorski and Sutcliffe, as is often the case with early Americana. On the other hand a good many of the eighteenth-century books are in the original calf or sheep. In the case of the handful of Western Americana the presence of printed paper wrappers has been noted. The provenance of the books has been given in the shortest possible form, but the full names of former owners appear in the "Index of Provenance" at the end of the Check-List. In the notes to the entries "Jones," unless otherwise qualified, stands for Herschel V. Jones.

The following are the books referred to in the Check-List by author or short title:

Church Church, E. D. *A Catalogue of Books relating to . . . America, forming a part of the Library of E. D. Church.* New York, 1907. 5 vols.

Cowan (1914) Cowan, Robert E. *A Bibliography of the History of California and the Pacific West, 1510-1906.* San Francisco, 1914.

Cowan (1933) Cowan, Robert E., and Cowan, Robert G. *A Bibliography of the History of California, 1510-1930.* San Francisco, 1933. 3 vols.

De Puy De Puy, Henry F. *A Bibliography of the English Colonial Treaties with the American Indians.* New York, 1917.

De Renne De Renne, Wymberley Jones. *Catalogue of the Wymberley Jones De Renne Georgia Library.* Wormsloe, 1931. 3 vols.

Evans Evans, Charles. *American Bibliography.* Chicago and Worcester, Mass., 1903-1955. 13 vols. (1639-1800). (Vol. 13 was compiled by Clifford K. Shipton.)

Field Field, Thomas W. *An Essay towards an Indian Bibliography.* New York, 1873.

GW *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke,* Kommission für den Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke. Leipzig, 1925- .

Harrisse

B.A.V. Harrisse, Henry. *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima . . . 1492-1551.* New York, 1866.

Additions ———. *Additions.* Paris, 1872.

Nouvelle-France ———. *Notes por servir à l'Histoire, à la Bibliographie et à la Cartographie de la Nouvelle-France . . . 1545-1700.* Paris, 1872.

Hildeburn Hildeburn, Charles R. *A Century of Printing. The Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania, 1685-1784.* Philadelphia, 1885-1886. 2 vols.

Holmes

Cotton Mather Holmes, Thomas J. *Cotton Mather: A Bibliography of His Works.* Cambridge, 1940. 3 vols.

Increase Mather ———. *Increase Mather: A Bibliography of His Works.* Cleveland, 1931. 2 vols.

JCB John Carter Brown Library. *Bibliotheca Americana. Catalogue of the John Carter Brown Library.* Providence, 1919-1931. 3 vols. in 5. (Through 1674.)

Jones Jones, Herschel V. *Americana Collection of Herschel V. Jones: A Check-List (1473-1926).* Compiled by Wilberforce Eames. New York, 1938.

Jones, *A.A.* ———. *Adventures in Americana, 1492-1897 ... Being a Selection of Books from the Library of Herschel V. Jones.* New York, 1928. 2 vols.

Medina, *B.H.A.* Medina, José Toribio. *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana.* Santiago de Chile, 1898-1907. 7 vols.

Palau Palau y Dulcet, Antonio. *Manual del Librero Hispano-Americano.* Barcelona, 1923-1927. 7 vols.

Sabin Sabin, Joseph. *A Dictionary of Books relating to America.* New York, 1868-1936. 29 vols.

S.T.C. Pollard, A. W., and Redgrave, G. R. *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, and of English Books printed abroad, 1475-1640.* London, 1926.

Stillwell Stillwell, Margaret B. *Incunabula in American Libraries: A Second Census.* New York, 1940.

Wagner

Spanish Southwest Wagner, Henry R. *The Spanish Southwest, 1542-1794.* Albuquerque, 1937. 2 vols.

Wagner-Camp ———. *The Plains and the Rockies: A Bibliography of Original Narratives of Travel and Adventure, 1800-1865.* Third edition. Revised by Charles L. Camp. Columbus, Ohio, 1953.

Wing Wing, Donald G. *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641-1700.* New York, 1945-1951. 3 vols.

Additions have been made to the collection since it was received by the Free Library, and it is hoped that a list including these and other Americana in the Library may be published soon, as a supplement to this list of Mr. Elkins' notable collection.

ELKINS AMERICANA IN THE FREE LIBRARY OF PHILADELPHIA

CHECK-LIST

1. CARVAJAL, Bernardinus. Oratio super obedientia.
[Rome: S. Plannck. After 19 June 1493.]

Sm. 4to. Jones copy. Church 3. GW 6145. Harrisse, *B.A.V.*, 11. JCB, I:16. Jones 5 (*A.A.*, 3). Medina, *B.H.A.*, 13. Stillwell C198. Sabin 11175.

2. COLUMBUS, Christopher. Epistola de insulis nuper inventis.
[Rome: S. Plannck. After 29 April 1493.]

Sm. 4to. Second Plannck edition. Phillipps-Jones copy. Church 3. GW 7177. Harrisse, *B.A.V.*, 4. JCB, I:18. Jones 4 (*A.A.*, 1). Medina, *B.H.A.*, 6. Sabin 14630. Stillwell C691.

3. ——— Eyn schön hübsch lesen von etlichen insslen.
Strassburg: B. Kistler. 1497.

Sm. 4to. Libri-Phillipps-Jones copy. Church 14. GW 7179. Harrisse, *B.A.V.*, 19. JCB, I:29. Jones 9 (*A.A.*, 5). Sabin 14638. Stillwell C695.

4. VESPUCCI, Amerigo. [Mundus Novus.] Alberic⁹ vespucci⁹ laurẽtio petri francisci de medicis Salutem plurimã dicit.
Paris: J. Lambert. [1503.]

Sm. 4to. Crowninshield-Phillipps-Jones copy. Harrisse, *B.A.V.*, 26. Jones 11 (*A.A.*, 6). Sabin 99327.

5. WALDSEEMÜLLER, Martin. Cosmographiae Introdvctio.
[St. Dié: (W. Lud.) Aug. 29, 1507.]

Sm. 4to. Murphy-Ellsworth copy. Church 24. Harrisse, *B.A.V.*, 46. JCB, I:45. Jones 15 (*A.A.*, 10). Sabin 101019.

6. FRACAN, Montalboddo. Itinerarium Portugallensium.
[Milan.] June 1508.

Sm. fol. Church 27. Harrisse, *B.A.V.*, 58. JCB, I:46. Jones 16 (*A.A.*, 11). Sabin 50058.

7. ——— Paesi nouamente retrouati.
Milan: J. A. Scinzenzeler. November, 1508.

Sm. 4to. Jones copy. Church 30. Harrisse, *B.A.V.*, 55. JCB, I:46. Jones 17. Sabin 50051.

8. GLOBUS MUNDI Declaratio siue descriptio mundi. Strassburg: J. Grüniger. 1509.

Sm. 4to. Jones copy. Church 31. Harrisse, *B.A.V.*, 61. JCB, I:49. Jones 18 (*A.A.*, 12). Sabin 27583.

9. PTOLEMY. Geographia. Strassburg: J. Schott. 1513.

Fol. Jones copy. Harrisse, *B.A.V.*, 74. Jones 22. JCB, I:57. Sabin 66478.

10. SCHÖNER, Johann. Luculentissima quaedam terrae totius descriptio. Nuremberg: J. Stuchssen. 1515.

Sm. 4to. Jones copy. Church 37. Harrisse, *B.A.V.*, 80. JCB, I:63. Jones 23. Sabin 77804.

11. SOLINUS, C. J. Ioannis Camertis ... in C. Ivlii Solini Πολυίστωρα Enarrationes. Vienna: J. Singrenius. 1520.

Sm. fol. Church 45. Harrisse, *B.A.V.*, 108. JCB, I:77. Jones 28. Sabin 86390.

12. CORTÉS, Hernando. Praeclara Ferdinãdi. Cortesii de Noua maris Oceani Hyspania Narratio. Nuremberg: F. Peypus. 1524.

Sm. fol. Church 53. Harrisse, *B.A.V.*, 125. JCB, I:90. Jones 29 (*A.A.*, 18). Medina, *B.H.A.*, 70. Sabin 16947.

13. BARTOLOMMEO, da li Sonetti. Isolario, Carte del mare Egeo. [Venice *or* Florence.] 1532.

Fol. Jones copy. Harrisse, *Discovery of North America* (London, 1892), No. 204, pp. 590-592. Jones 32.

14. FERNÁNDEZ DE OVIEDO Y VALDÉS, Gonzalo. La historia general delas Indias. Seville: J. Cromberger. 1535.

Sm. fol. Signature of author on recto of folio cxciii. Jones copy. Church 71. Harrisse, *B.A.V.*, 207. JCB, I:118. Jones 37. Medina, *B.H.A.*, 97. Palau, III:214. Sabin 57988.

15. PTOLEMY. Geographia. Lyons: M. and G. Trechsel. 1535.

Fol. Jones copy, with bookplate of James Smith of Jordanhill. Harrisse, *B.A.V.*, 210. JCB, I:119. Jones 38. Sabin 66483.

16. XERÉS, Francisco de. Libro Primo de la Conqvista del Perv & prouincia del Cuzco de le Indie occidentali. Venice: S. da Sabio. 1535.

Sm. 4to. Jones copy. Church 73. Harrisse, *B.A.V.*, 200. JCB, I:119. Jones 40 (*A.A.*, 23). Sabin 105721.

17. MAXIMILIANUS *Transylvanus*, and PIGAFETTA, Antonio. Il Vi-

aggio Fatto da gli Spagnivoli a Torno a'l Mondo. [Venice.] 1536.

Sm. 4to. Jones copy. Church 74. Harrisse, *B.A.V.*, 215. JCB, I:120. Jones 41 (*A.A.*, 24). Sabin 47042.

18. SOLINUS, C. J., and MELA, Pomponius. Polyhistor; De Sitv Orbis. Basel: M. Isingrinius and H. Petrus. 1538.

Fol. 126 leaves (the last blank and genuine), 2 folding maps. Contemporary oak boards and half-stamped white pigskin. Jones copy. Jones 42 (*A.A.*, 25).

19. PTOLEMY. Geographia. Basel: H. Petrus. 1540.

Fol. Jones copy. Harrisse, *B.A.V.*, 231. JCB, I:127. Jones 44. Sabin 66484.

20. ——— Geographia. Vienne [Dauphiné]: G. Trechsel. 1541.

Fol. Jones copy. Harrisse, *B.A.V.*, 233. JCB, I:129. Jones 45. Sabin 66485.

21. ——— Geographia. Basel: H. Petrus. 1542.

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104. WINSLOW, Edward. Good Nevves from New England. London: J. D. for W. Bladen and J. Bellamie. 1624.

Sm. 4to. First issue. Church 403. JCB, II:189. Sabin 104795. *S.T.C.* 25855.

105. L'HERMITE, Jacques. A True Relation of the Fleete which went vnder the Admirall Jaquis Le Hermite through the Straights of Magellane. London: Printed for Mercurius Britannicus. 1625.

Sm. 4to. Jones copy. Church 405. JCB, II:193. Jones 219 (*A.A.*, 93). Sabin 31510. *S.T.C.* 15571.

106. PERCY, George. A Trewe Relatyon of the pr[oc]edinge and occurrentes of Momente which have hap[pe]ned in Virginia from the Tyme Sr. Thomas Gates was Shippwrackte uppon the Bermudes Ano: 1609 untill my Dep[ar]ture outt of the Country which was in Ano: Dni. 1612. [About 1625.]

Sm. 4to. Manuscript. 42 p. Full vellum. Leconfield Sale, Sotheby, April 23 and 24, 1928, Lot 115.

107. PURCHASE, Samuel. Pvrchas His Pilgrimes. London: W. Stansby for H. Fetherstone. 1625-1626.

5 vols. Fol. Oswald copy. Church 401A. JCB, II:196. Sabin 66683-86 and 66682. *S.T.C.* 20509.

108. NICHOLS, Philip. Sir Francis Drake Reuiued. London: E. A. for N. Bourne. 1626.

Sm. 4to. With leaf of dedication "To the Ever-Trvly Honored Queene of Bohemia." inserted between A2 and A3. Hoe-Robinson-Jones copy. Church 407A. JCB, II:199. Jones 222 (*A.A.*, 94, where it is called the Sunderland copy). Sabin 20838. *S.T.C.* 18544.

109. OVID. Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished by G. S. London. 1626. [At end:] London: W. Stansby. 1626.

Sm. fol. The first translation of a classic and the first poetical work done in English America. George Sandys translated Books VI-XV after his arrival at Jamestown in 1621. Sabin 76456. *S.T.C.* 18964.

110. SMITH, John. A Sea Grammar. London: J. Haviland. 1627.

Sm. 4to. Gordon-Inglis-Britwell-Jones copy. Church 412. JCB, II:209. Jones 227 (*A.A.*, 95). Sabin 82839. *S.T.C.* 22794.

111. HAYMAN, Robert. Qvodlibets, Lately Come over from New Britaniola, Old Newfovnd-Land. London: E. All-de, for R. Michell. 1628.

Sm. 4to. McKee-Poor-Wallace-Chew-Jones copy. JCB, II:215. Jones 230 (*A.A.*, 96). Sabin 31037. *S.T.C.* 12974.

112. LEVETT, Christopher. A Voyage into Nevv England. London: W. Jones. 1628.

Sm. 4to. Britwell-Jones copy. JCB, II:216. Jones 231 (*A.A.*, 97). Sabin 40751. *S.T.C.* 15554.

113. GOODALL, Baptist. The Tryall of Travell. London: J. Norton [for] J. Upton. 1630.

Sm. 4to. Sykes-Britwell-Jones copy. Church 415. Jones 234 (*A.A.*, 99). Sabin 27842. *S.T.C.* 12007.

114. HIGGINSON, Francis. Nevv-Englands Plantation. London: T. C. and R. C. for M. Sparke. 1630.

Sm. 4to. Ives copy. Church 416. JCB, II:229. Sabin 31739. *S.T.C.* 13449.

115. SMITH, John. The True Travels, Adventvres and Observations of Captaine Iohn Smith. London: J. H. for T. Slater. 1630.

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115a. ——— ——— Another copy. Later impression. Lacks plate. With bookplate of William L. Elkins.

116. WHITE, John. The Planters Plea. London: W. Jones. 1630.

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117. SMITH, John. Advertisements for the unexperienced Planters of New-England, or any where. London: J. Haviland [for] R. Milbourne. 1631.

Sm. 4to. With map of New England in Sabin's ninth state. Jones copy. Church 419. JCB, II:238. Jones 235 (*A.A.*, 100). Sabin 82815. *S.T.C.* 22787.

118. CHAMPLAIN, Samuel de. Les Voyages de la Novvelle France Occidentale, Dicte Canada. Paris: P. Le-Mur. 1632.

Sm. 4to. Bookplate of Mr de Fenille. Church 420, *note*. Field 268. Harrisse, *Nouvelle-France*, 51. Sabin 11839, *note*. *Cf.* JCB, II:239. Jones 236 (*A.A.*, 101).

119. SAGARD-THEODAT, Gabriel. Le Grand Voyage dv Pays des Hurons. Paris: D. Moreau. 1632.

Sm. 8vo. Brinley-Jones copy. Church 421. Field 1341. Harrisse, *Nouvelle-France*, 52-53. JCB, II:243. Jones 239 (*A.A.*, 102). Sabin 74883.

120. JAMES, Thomas. The Strange and Dangerovs Voyage of Captaine Thomas Iames. London: J. Legatt, for J. Partridge. 1633.

Sm. 4to. Stevens-Church copy. Church 423. JCB, II:246. Jones 241 (*A.A.*, 103). Sabin 35711. *S.T.C.* 14444.

121. WOOD, William. Nevv Englands Prospect. London: T. Cotes, for J. Bellamie. 1634.

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122. FOX, Luke. North-VVest Fox, or, Fox from the North-west passage. London: B. Alsop and T. Fawcet. 1635.

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123. MORTON, Thomas. New English Canaan or New Canaan.
Amsterdam: J. F. Stam. 1637.

Sm. 4to. Church 437. JCB, II:265. Sabin 51028.

124. UNDERHILL, John. Nevves from America.
London: J. D. for P. Cole. 1638.

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125. LECHFORD, Thomas. Plain Dealing: or, Nevves from New-England.
London: W. E. and I. G. for N. Butter. 1642.

Sm. 4to. Church 454. JCB, II:298. Sabin 39640. Wing L810.

126. NEVV ENGLANDS First Fruits.
London: R. O. and G. D. for H. Overton. 1643.

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127. CASTELL, William. A Short Discoverie of the Coasts and Continent of America. London. 1644.

Sm. 4to. Church 461. JCB, II:313. Jones 256 (*A.A.*, 112). Sabin 11398. Wing C1231.

128. SHEPARD, Thomas. The Day-Breaking, if not the Sun-Rising of the Gospell with the Indians in New-England.
London: R. Cotes, for F. Clifton. 1647.

Sm. 4to. Hoe copy. Turner-Munn Sale, No. 112. Church 482. Field 408. JCB, II:359. Sabin 80207. Wing S3110.

129. WARD, Nathaniel. The Simple Cobbler of Aggavvam in America.
London: J. Dever & R. Ibbitson, for S. Bowtell. 1647.

Sm. 4to. 24 unnumbered leaves. Probably a pirated edition.—Sabin. JCB, II:361 (entry after Fourth Edition). Sabin 101327. Wing W786.

130. WINSLOW, Edward. The Danger of Tolerating Levellers in a Civill State. London: R. Cotes for J. Bellamy. 1649.

Sm. 4to. JCB, II:392. Sabin 104794. Wing W3035.

131. BESCHRIJVINGHE van Virginia, Nieuw Nederlandt/ Nieuw Engelandt, en d'Eylanden Bermudes, Berbados, en S. Christoffel.
Amsterdam: J. Hartgers. 1651.

8vo. Andrews-Streeter-Jones copy. Church 510. JCB, II:405. Jones 268 (*A.A.*, 117). Sabin 5045.

132. GARDINER, George. A Description of the New World.
London: R. Leybourn [for] T. Pirrepoint. 1651.

Sm. 8vo. Jones copy. Church 512. JCB, II:409. Jones 269 (*A.A.*, 115). Sabin 26659. Wing G221.

133. WHITFIELD, Henry. Strength ovt of Weaknesse. London: M. Simmons for J. Blague and S. Howes. 1652.

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134. ELIOT, John, and MAYHEW, Thomas. Tears of Repentance. London: P. Cole. 1653.

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135. The SECOND PART of the Tragedy of Amboyna: or, A True Relation of a Most Bloody, Treacherous, and Cruel Design of the Dutch in the New-Netherlands in America. London: Printed for T. Matthews. 1653.

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136. JOHNSON, Edward. A History of New-England. London: Printed for N. Brooke. 1654.

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137. LANGFORD, John. A just and cleere Refutation of a false and scandalous Pamphlet, Entituled, Babylons fall in Maryland, &c. London: Printed for the Author. 1655.

Sm. 4to. Britwell-Jones copy, stamped on verso of title "British Museum Sale Duplicate 1787." Elizabeth Baer, *Seventeenth Century Maryland* (Baltimore, 1949), 42. Church 544. Jones 275 (*A.A.*, 120). Sabin 38886. Wing L387.

138. VRIES, David de. Korte Historiael, ende Journaels aenteyckeninge, van verscheyden Voyagiens. Hoorn: For D. P. de Vries. 1655.

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139. CASAS, Bartolomé de las. The Tears of the Indians. London: J. C. for N. Brook. 1656.

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140. NORTON, John. Abel being Dead yet speaketh; or, The Life & Death of . . . Mr. John Cotton. London: T. Newcomb for L. Lloyd. 1658.

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141. GORGES, *Sir* Ferdinando. America Painted to the Life.
London: Printed for N. Brook. 1659.

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142. ELIOT, John. Wusku Wuttestamentum. [New Testament translated into the Massachusetts Indian language.]
Cambridge: S. Green and M. Johnson. 1661.

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143. MANTON, Thomas. A Practical Commentary, or An Exposition with Notes on the Epistle of S^{t} Jude. . . . The Second Edition corrected.
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144. DAVENPORT, John. A Discourse about Civil Government in a New Plantation Whose Design is Religion.
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145. HILTON, William. A Relation of a Discovery lately made on the Coast of Florida. London: J. C. for S. Miller. 1664.

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146. MATHER, Increase. The Mystery of Israel's Salvation, Explained and Applyed. London: For J. Allen. 1669.

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147. MORTON, Nathaniel. New-Englands Memoriall.
Cambridge: S. G. and M. J. for J. Usher. 1669.

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151. A CONTINUATION of the State of New-England; Being a Farther Account of the Indian Warr. London: T. M. for D. Newman. 1676.

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152. HUBBARD, William. The Happiness of a People. Boston: J. Foster. 1676.

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154. A NEW AND FURTHER NARRATIVE of the State of New-England, Being a Continued Account of the Bloudy Indian-War. London: J. B. for D. Newman. 1676.

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155. A TRUE ACCOUNT of the Most Considerable Occurrences that have hapned in the Warre between the English and the Indians in New-England. London: Printed for B. Billingsley. 1676.

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156. ARTICLES OF PEACE between . . . Charles II. . . . And Several Indian Kings and Queens, &c. London: J. Bill, C. Barker, T. Newcomb and H. Hills. 1677.

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161. ——— A Relation of the Troubles which have hapned in New-England, by reason of the Indians there. Boston: J. Foster. 1677.

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162. ——— The Necessity of Reformation. Boston: J. Foster. 1679.

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163. ——— The Divine Right of Infant-Baptisme. Boston: J. Foster. 1680.

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164. PENN, William. Some Account of the Province of Pennsilvania.
London: B. Clark. 1681.

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165. THÉVENOT, Melchisédech. Recueil de Voyages.
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169. HACK, William. Waggoner of the South Sea, 1683, *and* Appendix to the South Sea Wagoner. [After February 6, 1685.] 1683

Manuscript. 2 vols. Folio. The first volume begins with a leaf carrying Hack's statement that he drew the charts included in it, dated 1683, and a leaf of dedication by Bartholomew Sharp to Charles II. These are followed by a general map and 130 double-page charts of the coast from Acapulco south to Tierra del Fuego. The second volume begins with a leaf of dedication to James II, followed by 83 pages of sailing instructions translated from the Spanish and 17 double-page charts of the coast from Acapulco north to the mouth of the Gulf of California. Phillipps-Jones copy. The first volume is Phillipps Ms. 17503 and had belonged earlier to Anthony Askew, William Burrell, Richard Heber, and Lord Kingsborough. The second volume is Phillipps Ms. 13972, and belonged earlier to Thomas Anson. Jones 329. *See also* Hakluyt Society, Second Series, No. LXXIII, p. xxiv, note 1, and p. 115, note 1.

170. PENN, William. A Letter . . . to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders. London: A. Sowle. 1683.

Fol. Third edition. Leiter copy. Church 686. Wing P1320. *Cf.* Church 685. Sabin 59712.

171. AYRES, Philip. The Voyages and Adventures of Capt. Barth. Sharp and others, in the South Sea. London: B. W. for R. H. and S. T. 1684.

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172. EXQUEMELIN, A. O. Bucaniers of America. London: W. Crooke. 1684-1685.

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179. SALEM WITCHCRAFT. [Confession of Abigail Hobbs at Salem Village, April 19, 1692.] 1692.

Manuscript. 2 p. Folio. Examination conducted by John Hathorne and Jonathan Corwin. Confession taken down by Samuel Parris, and signed by Abigail Hobbs with her mark. Turner-Munn Sale, No. 223.

180. KEITH, George. New-England's Spirit of Persecution Transmitted to Pennsilvania.
[Philadelphia *or* New York:] Printed [by W. Bradford] in the Year 1693.

Sm. 4to. Jones copy. Evans 642. Hildeburn 64. Jones 355 (*A.A.*, 141). A. S. W. Rosenbach, *American Jewish Bibliography* (Baltimore, 1926. In: Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, No. 30), 3. Sabin 37203. Wing K186.

181. MATHER, Cotton. The Wonders of the Invisible World.
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183. MATHER, Cotton. Johannes in Eremo. Memoirs, Relating to the Lives

of . . . Mr. John Cotton, . . . Mr. John Norton, . . . Mr. John Wilson, . . . Mr. John Davenport, . . . and Mr. Thomas Hooker.
[Boston:] M. Perry. 1695.

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184. SCOTTOW, Joshua. Massachusetts or The first Planters of New-England. Boston: B. Green and J. Allen. 1696.

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12mo. Bookplate of W. S. Appleton. Church 766. Holmes, *Cotton Mather*, 279A. Sabin 46455. Wing M1138.

186. THOMAS, Gabriel. An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pensilvania; and of West-New-Jersey.
London: A. Baldwin. 1698.

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187. MATHER, Cotton, and others. Thirty Important Cases Resolved.
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188. CALEF, Robert. More Wonders of the Invisible World.
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189. MATHER, Increase. The Order of the Gospel.
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190. WOOLEY, Charles. A two Years Journal in New-York.
London: Printed for D. Boys and G. Barton. 1701.

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191. MATHER, Cotton. Magnalia Christi Americana: or, The Ecclesiastical History of Nevv-England. London: Printed for T. Parkhurst. 1702.

Fol. Leaves measure 14⅛ x 8¾ inches. With leaf of advt. at end marked ¶ and beginning "DIscourses . . .". Without leaves of errata. Leiter copy. Church 806. Field 1025. Holmes, *Cotton Mather*, 213A. Jones 378. Sabin 46392.

192. ——— Proposals, for the Preservation of Religion in the Churches. [Boston: B. Green and J. Allen. 1702.]

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WHITING, John. Truth and Innocency Defended. London: T. Sowle. 1702.

See No. 193.

193. BISHOPE, George. New-England Judged, by the Spirit of the Lord. London: T. Sowle. 1703.

8vo. Includes at the end, with separate title-page and pagination but continuous signatures, John Whiting's *Truth and Innocency Defended*, London, 1702. Bookplate of William L. Elkins. Sabin 5631.

194. BEVERLEY, Robert. The History and Present State of Virginia. London: Printed for R. Parker. 1705.

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197. MATHER, Increase. A Dissertation, wherein the Strange Doctrine Lately Published in a Sermon, the Tendency of which, is, to Encourage Unsanctified Persons (while such) to Approach the Holy Table of the Lord, is Examined and Confuted. Boston: B. Green, for B. Eliot. 1708.

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12mo. Six-line poem in the hand of Cotton Mather presenting the book to his daughter Elizabeth, dated October 12, 1723, inside front cover. Matt B. Jones copy. Evans 2450. Holmes, *Cotton Mather*, 61. Sabin 46261.

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Army Field Printing in the New World*

By Edwin H. Carpenter, Jr.

THE most obvious service which portable presses carried into the field can perform for an army is providing it with multiple copies of its orders, forms, and so forth more quickly and cheaply than they can be prepared elsewhere. There is, however, an additional use for such presses: the dissemination of propaganda either to encourage a warring nation and its allies or to appeal to or attempt to frighten the enemy or neutrals. The political aspect of army field printing is particularly noticeable in some of the Latin American revolutions, in which the army and the government of one faction were frequently identical. During the nineteenth century this part of army field printing diminished, but it appeared again in full force in the wars of the middle of this century, in which "psychological warfare" units took the field with well-equipped mobile printing plants. Despite the perhaps greater interest of the propaganda use of army field presses, it is the more specifically military use which we shall consider here.

Both aspects of military printing are mentioned in a letter written by George Washington to a committee of Congress in 1777, which is the earliest reference to army field presses in the New World that I have as yet found.[1] He wrote a committee investigating army administrative problems that

* Read at the meeting of the Society in New York, January 27, 1956.

[1] In order to place New World army field printing in the total picture, it might be said that this is the earliest reference I have anywhere. Systematic research has not been done in the European area, but as yet I have encountered no instances

a Small travelling Press to follow head Quarters would be productive of many eminent advantages. It would enable us to give speedy and exact information of any Military transactions that take place with proper comments upon them. . . . If the People had a Channel of Intelligence, that . . . they could look up to with confidence, they might often be preserved from that dispondency, which they are apt to fall into from the exaggerated pictures our Enemies . . . commonly draw of any misfortunes we meet with. . . . It would also be very useful to dispatch business in Camp, being the most expeditious means of taking Copies of any orders or other matters that require to be dispersed and would save a good deal in returns and other papers we are often Obliged to get Printed in Philadelphia. . . .[2]

The committee recommended that the Quartermaster General be ordered to furnish such a press, but this recommendation was tabled by the Congress.[3]

That the Founding Fathers were fully aware of the propaganda value of the press is further shown by some references in the letters of Richard Henry Lee in 1781[4] and by the fact that in 1776, when Benjamin Franklin went to Canada to try to win her adherence to the Revolution, he took along a press and printer. When the mission failed, this man, Fleury Mesplet, remained behind to become the first printer in Montreal.[5] I have

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there earlier than the Napoleonic wars.

The frequent occurrence of "as yet" and equivalent phrases in this paper will clearly demonstrate its preliminary nature. It may be premature to attempt to weave into a connected fabric the material I have on hand, but I am glad of the opportunity to present the subject, in the hope that others may know of further examples which they will share with me. The instances cited in the present paper do not include all of which I have knowledge, especially in the period after 1860.

[2] John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington* . . . (39 v., Washington, 1931-1944), VIII, 443-444.

[3] Worthington C. Ford, *et al.*, ed., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* . . . (34 v., Washington, 1904-1937), VIII, 581. I am indebted to Eleanor Steiner-Prag for drawing to my attention this instance and those cited in the two following notes.

[4] *E.g.*, postscript of Lee to the Virginia delegates in Congress, June 12, 1781. Julian P. Boyd, ed., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (— v., Princeton, 1950-), VI, 92.

[5] Aegidius Fauteux, "Fleury Mesplet . . . ," PAPERS, XXVIII (1934), 164-194. Fauteux points out that Mesplet already had the idea of moving to Montreal from Philadelphia, and also that the funds given him by Congress did not cover the total cost of the move.

as yet found no evidence of the use of a portable press by the army in the American Revolution, though some of the printers who worked for the army and Congress were forced to move from one town to another in the face of advancing British arms, and both the French and British fleets operated presses aboard ships.

Washington's successors and emulators in the revolutions of various Spanish-American colonies in the early nineteenth century had the same ideas as he, and were more successful in putting them into practice. When Simón Bolívar sailed from Haiti early in 1816 to invade northern South America he carried with him, as a gift from President Pétion of the Negro republic, a small press and type. From May to July his expedition was on Margarita Island, off Venezuela, and various proclamations, orders, etc. were printed. One has the colophon, "Printed at Juan Griego on the Island of Margarita by Juan Baillio, printer of the Liberating Expedition." Bolívar's attempt to establish a beachhead on the mainland in July was unsuccessful, and the printing equipment had to be abandoned. Royalist forces salvaged the type.[6]

Later Bolívar established himself in the interior of Venezuela, in the Orinoco basin, and on September 1, 1817, he wrote to a colleague, "Above all send me by one means or another a press, which is as useful as guns and ammunition." A hand press was purchased in one of the British West Indian islands, and arrived in Angostura (now Ciudad Bolívar) late in October. There and in other places it rendered valiant service to the Republican cause.[7]

In Peru's struggle for independence field presses were used

[6] Manuel Segundo Sánchez, *La Imprenta de la Expedición Libertadora* . . . (Caracas, 1916).

[7] José Toribio Medina (Pedro Grases, ed.), *Contribución á la Historia de la Imprenta en Venezuela, edición conmemorativa* ... ([Caracas, 1952]), pp. 43, 67-68. The Museo Bolivariano in Caracas possesses an iron press which is said to be the Angostura press; I am indebted to them for a photograph of it, arranged through the kind offices of Señor José M. Cruxent.

by both sides; there are lists of twenty-seven items from the Republican field presses and forty from those of the Royalists in José Toribio Medina's *La Imprenta en Arequipa . . . y otros Pueblos del Perú.*[8] Medina gives considerable detail on the places where the presses functioned, the varying names of the units appearing in the colophons, and the printers. In this theater of operations presses were on occasion captured, and Royalist imprints are found with such phrases (no doubt used for their psychological effect) as "On the former press of the enemy Division of the South" and "Press of the Army, taken from the enemy at Lima."

The revolutions in Mexico, too, show examples of the use of printing presses in the field. In 1812-1813 and perhaps later there was an "Imprenta de la Nación" or "Imprenta Nacional," first at the revolutionary center of Sultepec and later at other towns. This was equipped partly with type smuggled out of Mexico City and partly with type cut from wood by hand. Various periodicals, proclamations, and so forth were printed on this and other presses of revolutionary armies.[9] In 1817 an expedition which called itself "The Auxiliary Division of the Mexican Republic" entered Mexico by way of Texas. This campaign had begun in England, where a press was purchased; during a stop in Baltimore the leaders engaged a young American printer, Samuel Bangs. The group landed first at Galveston, early in 1817, and there Bangs printed a proclamation, the first printing in Texas. The expedition then went farther down the coast, into the present Mexican state of Tamaulipas, where more printing was done, the first there. Soon, however, Bangs and some others were captured by the Royalists. His companions were executed

[8] (Santiago de Chile, 1904.) See also his *Imprenta en Lima* . . . (4 v., Santiago de Chile, 1904-1907), I, lix-lxi, lxviii.

[9] Josep María Miquel i Vergés, *La Independencia Mexicana y la Prensa Insurgente* ([México, 1941]), pp. 17-20, etc.; José Toribio Medina, *Notas Bibliográficas referentes á . . . la Imprenta en algunas Ciudades de la América Española* . . . (Santiago de Chile, 1904), pp. 75, 115.

or sent off to Spanish prisons, but he was spared because he was a printer, and he and the press were taken to Monterrey and later to Saltillo, where he remained a few years, printing for the Mexican authorities of Nuevo León and Coahuila, successively royal and republican.[10]

In 1821 in Mexico we find periodicals and single items with the elaborate imprint, "Portable Press of the Imperial Mexican Army of the Three Guarantees." This was the field press of one of the Revolutionary leaders, Agustin de Iturbide, who in 1822 set himself up briefly as Emperor of Mexico. One of his biographers points out that it was almost an obsession with him to have a press along wherever he went on his campaigns.[11] The peregrinations of Iturbide's field press have been studied and recorded by Mexican scholars.[12] Other chiefs of the Revolution had portable presses, and we find such other imprints as "Itinerant Press of the Army protecting Religion and Rights, in charge of Don José Francisco Gutiérrez," "Itinerant Press of the Mexican Federal Army," and "Itinerant Press in charge of Nicolás España."[13]

Turning back to the United States, we find little activity in these early years of the nineteenth century. Apparently the forces engaged in the War of 1812 and the early Indian wars operated where they could make use of established centers of

[10] Vito Alessio Robles, *La Primera Imprenta en las Provincias Internas de Oriente* ... (México, 1939); Douglas C. McMurtrie, *Pioneer Printing in Texas* (Austin, 1932), pp. 7-8; Lota M. Spell, "Samuel Bangs, the First Printer in Texas," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XI (1931), 248-258. For the most recent discussion of this printing, see Nos. 1 and 2 of Thomas W. Streeter, *Bibliography of Texas, 1795-1845: Part I, Texas Imprints* (2 v., Cambridge, Mass., 1955).

[11] Rafael Heliodoro Valle, *Como era Iturbide* (México, 1922), p. 14 (quoted by Miquel i Vergés, *op. cit.*, p. 306, n. 3).

[12] Rafael Ayala Echavarri, "La Prensa Insurgente y la Primera Imprenta en Querétaro," *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística*, LIX (1944), [387]-412; Victor Ruíz Meza, *La Primera Imprenta en Toluca* ... (México, 1949), pp. 8, 10; Miquel i Vergés, *op. cit.*; and the works cited by them.

[13] Genaro Estrada, *200 Notas de Bibliografía Mexicana* (México, 1931. Monografías bibliográficas mexicanas, no. 31), Nota 65, pp. 41-42.

printing, and even a force as remote from Washington as the North Western Army in Michigan in 1812 found a civilian printshop at hand: Father Richard's press in Detroit—which was also employed by the British forces when they occupied the city.[14] One of the factors which led to the involvement of United States troops with the Spaniards and Indians in Florida was the descent on Amelia Island (the northeast corner of Florida) of a filibustering expedition led by Sir Gregor MacGregor, in 1817. This leader and others who succeeded him in this attempt to set up either an independent republic or a province of Mexico were well aware of the value of a press at headquarters, and brought one to the island.[15]

It was with Mexico that the United States engaged in its next foreign war, in the late 1840's. Wherever the American forces went, including Mexico City, there was an output of printed matter, particularly newspapers, but as yet I have found no evidence of the use of field presses. Apparently captured or hired local presses were used, and the work done by civilian camp-followers or former soldiers who had remained with the army after their discharge.[16] It was the Civil War which brought widespread use of portable presses, but before reaching that war let us turn to Canada for an example from 1859. In that year a detachment of Royal Engineers arrived in British Columbia from England, and soon bought—probably in San Francisco—a small hand press and some type. This equipment was used for forms and circulars and later (since the commanding officer was

[14] A. H. Greenly, *A Bibliography of Father Richard's Press in Detroit* (Ann Arbor, 1955), Nos. 31-34, etc.

[15] Douglas C. McMurtrie, *The Beginnings of Printing in Florida* (Hattiesburg, Miss., 1944), pp. 8-9. For the expedition's history in general, see Thomas F. Davis, *MacGregor's Invasion of Florida, 1817* ... ([Jacksonville, 1928]). It might be pointed out that MacGregor had been a member of Bolívar's staff the year before, at the time of the Margarita Island press.

[16] These statements are based on general reading about the Mexican War, and have no specific source except Lota M. Spell, "The Anglo-Saxon Press in Mexico, 1846-1848," *American Historical Review*, XXXVIII (1932), 20-31.

the colony's Commissioner of Lands and Works) for reports of surveys and promotional literature. The unit was disbanded in 1863 and the press, along with the corporal who operated it, was transferred to the civil government and became the provincial printing office.[17] This is the only example I have yet found of an army press developing into a permanent institution.

* * *

The Washington or similar hand presses, which were the kind used in the instances cited so far, can be considered portable in a manner of speaking, though they were not intended to be, and doubtless required much manhandling to move from place to place. Probably the most readily portable of the presses in use before the middle of the nineteenth century was the small wooden Ramage proof press. About the middle of the century at least three manufacturers put on the market small iron presses which were truly portable—one model can be carried with one hand—and it was this that made possible the common use of field presses in the Civil War. One of these was manufactured by the Cincinnati Type Foundry and other firms, and came to be called "the Army Press";[18] it was still being made and sold as late as the first decade of this century.[19] Another style was known as the "Adams Cottage Press," and a third as the "Lowe Press," this last being the really light and compact machine.[20]

In the old-style hand press, essentially unchanged for centuries, both the bed of the press and the platen moved, the latter

[17] Madge Wolfenden, "The Early Government Gazettes," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, VII (1943), 171-190, pp. 174-176.

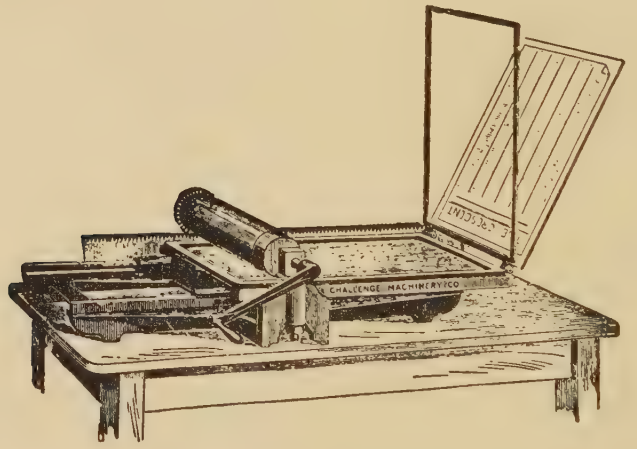
[18] John L. Ringwalt, *American Encyclopaedia of Printing* (Philadelphia, 1871), p. 45.

[19] Inland Type Foundry, *Specimen Book and Catalogue*, June, 1906, p. 250; four sizes are shown, ranging in price from $60 to $125.

[20] Patent No. 15,428, July 29, 1856. For an account of a Lowe press used by a modern hobby printer, see Lewis F. White, *A Brief Account of the Between-Hours Press* ... (New York, 1952. Typophiles Monograph No. 36). I am grateful to Mr. Ben Grauer, owner of this Lowe press, for allowing me to display it at the time of the oral presentation of this paper.

THE CHALLENGE ARMY PRESS

For starting a paper with a small circulation no better press can be found than the Challenge Army Press. It has ways, bed, tympan and frisket similar to an ordinary hand press. In place of the platen and lever the impression is taken by means of a cylinder and crank, by the rotation of which the bed is moved back and forth, giving an impression each way.



This machine is constructed of the best material, and finished with the same accuracy as larger and more expensive machines. A circular descriptive of the Challenge Army Press will be sent to those interested. It is a good machine and sold at a moderate price. Write to The Challenge Machinery Co., Grand Haven, Mich., U. S. A., for particulars, or ask your dealer.

From Challenge Machinery Company
Printers' Album, March, 1909, p. 11.

vertically. The compactness of the field presses was made possible by the realization that only one of the two elements need move, and that there need not be vertical action. The Cincinnati Type Foundry and Adams presses consisted of a flat, rectangular bed along one side of which ran a toothed bar. Bridging the short axis was a fixed roller turned by a handle; this was the platen. The chase with the forme in it was laid on the bed and a tympan and frisket folded down over it; the handle was then turned, a gear on the other end of the roller engaging the teeth of the side-bar and causing the bed to move across under the platen, making an impression on the way. The Lowe press achieved even greater compactness—though at the cost of uneven impression—by using a conical platen which pivoted on the small end; in this case the platen rather than the bed was the moving part. On all these presses inking was at first done by the old method of ink balls or a hand roller, but later an inking roller attachment was developed.[21]

It is my impression that, at least in the early days of the Civil War, most military units secured their printing, like other supplies, from Quartermaster depots or by contract with civilian shops. At any rate, the earliest examples of Civil War field printing come from the less populated theaters of the war, especially west of the Mississippi. In late 1861 and early 1862 General and Special Orders were being issued in printed form by both Federal and Confederate units in Arkansas and Oklahoma, and they appear to have been printed on field presses.[22] At Fort McCulloch, Oklahoma, General Albert Pike, C.S.A., purchased a press (the kind not recorded) and printed administrative papers and training manuals.[23] As the war went on port-

[21] Patent No. 31,760, March 19, 1861.

[22] Albert H. Allen, ed., *Arkansas Imprints, 1821-1876* (New York, 1947), No. 428 and Appendixes A and B (especially A-1 and B-3 and 5); Lester Hargrett, *Oklahoma Imprints, 1835-1890* (New York, 1951), Nos. 205-215.

[23] Hargrett, *op. cit.*, Nos. 202-203, and the letter from Pike therewith quoted.

able presses seem to have become very common, at least in corps and division headquarters.

In addition to the normal military output, these presses were used during the war and later to print soldier newspapers and even, on occasion, poetry by soldiers. Sgt. P. A. Morgan of the 1st United States Volunteer Infantry published at least two broadsides of verse on the press at Fort Rice, North Dakota, which was also used to produce a newspaper, the *Frontier Scout*, in 1864 and 1865.[24] Soldier newspapers, both manuscript and printed, were common in the Civil War, and when a checklist of them now in preparation is published it will describe many printed on various portable or more substantial presses in the field, in garrisons or cities, and in hospitals.[25]

Probably the most fully documented use of a field press in this conflict occurs right at the end—at Appomattox. When General Lee surrendered he asked that his soldiers be allowed to sign paroles. This was conceded, and General Grant said he would arrange to secure the necessary forms. One of his corps commanders present, General John Gibbon of the XXIV Corps, spoke up and said that he had his headquarters press nearby and could print the blanks, which he did.[26] During the war there were well-equipped army printing plants in various regional and national centers, as well as firms of stationers who specialized in army forms. These are not of much interest in this study, since they were routine operations under static conditions. Mention might be made, however, of an incident in Washington in

[24] Albert H. Allen, ed., *Dakota Imprints, 1858-1889* (New York, 1947), Nos. 33-34.

[25] The authority in this field is Colonel Earle F. Lutz, who has generously shared his references with me. See his "Soldier Newspapers of the Civil War," PAPERS, XLVI (1952), 373-386.

[26] General Gibbon twice relates the incident: "Personal Recollections of Appomattox," *Century Magazine*, LXIII (1902), 936-943, and *Personal Recollections of the Civil War* (New York, 1928), p. 327. My thanks are due to John Cook Wyllie of the University of Virginia Library for drawing this incident to my attention and allowing me to use his notes and references on the subject.

1864 when, because of a disagreement between the two officials, Secretary of War Stanton sent soldiers to seize the press operated by the acting Signal Officer of the Army.[27]

During the rest of the 1860's and for the next couple of decades—which is as far as I propose to carry the story here—army presses were common in post and regional headquarters, in service schools, and in regiments. The last-named were apt to be peripatetic, as the units were transferred from one place to another. Some of them turn up in the Philippines during and after the Spanish-American War. Examples[28] of post presses are: Depot Quartermaster's Printing Office, Fort Union, New Mexico, 1867; Depot Printing Office, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, 1868 to 1878; and "Charles Krull, Post Printer," Fort Davis, Texas, 1877. Examples of presses in headquarters of regional commands are those of the Department of the Columbia, Vancouver Barracks, Washington, in the late '60's;[29] of the Department of the Platte, Omaha, 1877; and of the Division of the Missouri, Chicago, 1882. The headquarters of the Department of Arizona published orders at various points in Arizona and California in the '70's, some of the work certainly being done on portable presses. Examples of unit presses are: 4th Infantry, Fort Bridger, Wyoming, 1875, and Fort Sherman, Idaho, 1891;[30] 8th Infantry, David's Island, New York Harbor, 1871; 11th Infantry, Fort Griffin, Texas, 1871; 14th Infantry, Fort Laramie, Wyoming, 1872; 18th Infantry, McPherson Barracks, Atlanta,

[27] George R. Thompson, "Civil War Signals," *Military Affairs*, XVIII (1954), 188-201, p. 200.

[28] These examples are taken from the imprint catalogue in the Reserve Division of The New York Public Library, booksellers' catalogues, bibliographies, and library holdings, particularly those of The New York Public and Henry E. Huntington Libraries. The dates given do not necessarily delimit the operation of the presses mentioned; they represent the years for which imprints have been located.

[29] See No. 499*a* of Douglas C. McMurtrie, *Oregon Imprints, 1847-1870* (Eugene, 1950), and the comments thereon in George N. Belknap, *McMurtrie's Oregon Imprints: a Supplement* (Portland, [1951]), pp. 7-8.

[30] See Douglas C. McMurtrie, *The Fourth Infantry Press at Fort Bridger* (Cheyenne, 1944); he did not know of the later imprints.

1878, and Fort Assiniboine, Montana, 1883; 20th Infantry at the same post, 1886; and the 34th Infantry, Grenada, Mississippi, 1867.

All these presses scattered from the East to the West coasts must have had quite an output, much of which is now either literally lost or else lost to sight because the pieces bear no imprint. As indicated, this output was not all strictly military, and I shall close by citing two works of some interest produced on army presses in this post-Civil War period. In 1866 Lieutenants Joseph K. Hyer and William S. Starring published their *Dictionary of the Sioux Language*; it has no imprint, but the consensus of authorities is that it was printed on an army press at Fort Laramie.[31] And in 1869 Major Henry M. Robert printed on the press of the headquarters of the Military Division of the Pacific, in San Francisco, a trial copy (now in the Library of Congress) of what was to become his famous *Rules of Order*.[32]

[31] Douglas C. McMurtrie, *Early Printing in Wyoming and the Black Hills* (Hattiesburg, Miss., 1943), pp. 44-45.

[32] Emilie Tavel, "How Robert's 'Rules of Order' Won Fame," *Christian Science Monitor*, February 28, 1951, p. 7, with a reproduction of the first page, bearing an indorsement by Major Robert explaining the circumstances of printing.

Bibliographical Notes

A Rediscovered Dante "Credo"

Pseudo-Dante: Il Credo [Florence: Lorenzo Morgiani and Johannes Petri, between 1495 and 1500]

4 leaves. a^4. 36 lines. type 3:82G (in this copy the measurement is 82 rather than 81 mm., probably due to shrinkage). Initial, Haebler e.

Leaf 1 recto begins: Credo che Dante fece quando fu acusato | per heretico allo Inquisitore esso lui a- | Rauenna [*Woodcut initial* "A" *extending from line 3 to line 5*]L tempo che Dante suo libro deciso | . . . *Ends leaf 4 verso. Line 31* Che paradiso alnostro fin cidoni | *line 32* Finito il Credo di Dante |

216 x 140 mm., washed, bound in full citron morocco by F. Bedford nineteenth century, gold stamped, edges gilt.

Provenance: Libri–Firmin Didot-Macauley.

In August of 1859 Sotheby & Wilkinson, London, sold the second part of the library of the celebrated French scholar, bibliophile and book thief, Guglielmo Libri. On the fourth day of the sale, item 797 was knocked down for £9 5s. The catalogue description read as follows: "Dante Credo . . . *fine copy, citron morocco, super extra gilt edges by F. Bedford.* 4to. senz' anno, luogo e stampatore. Saec XV. An excessively rare edition, totally unknown to all bibliographers. . . ." Two years later the same book was described in the second volume of the fifth edition of Brunet's *Manuel du Libraire* (1861), at which time the book was in the possession of one of his publishers, Ambroise Firmin Didot. Not only is there a bookplate to attest this, but the copy turned up in the June, 1878, section of the Firmin Didot catalogue. At this point the book again became "totally unknown to all bibliographers." It does not appear in the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* or in the Accurti supplements.

The copy described above has now been located in the University of Pennsylvania Library. It first arrived in 1897, when Francis C. Macauley presented his magnificent collection of Italian literature. Although at the

time the volume was not recognized for what it was, it was rediscovered two years ago. In the process of preparing the following description, the book was submitted to Mr. Rudolf Hirsch and Dr. Curt F. Bühler, and photographs were sent to the Kommission für den Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke. All concur in the conclusion that it is to be assigned to the press of Lorenzo Morgiani and Johannes Petri in Florence. The type, 3:81G, clearly belonged to that printing house, which flourished from *ca.* 1491 to *ca.* 1500. About 1495 this firm printed two other *Credos*, one of which (GW7979) is similar in format to the Pennsylvania copy, although both have Roman rather than Gothic type. The dating of the book between 1495 and 1500 arises from the fact that the type appears in the Morgiani and Petri printing of Filippo Calandri's *Arithmetica* of 1491 (GW5884) in a much less worn condition. Therefore the *Credo* must have been printed some time after 1491, and it is logical to group it with the other two.

Thomas R. Adams

The Chapin Library
Williams College

The Authorship of "A Proposition for the Safety and Happiness of the King . . ." (1667)

The William Andrews Clark Memorial Library of the University of California at Los Angeles recently acquired a copy of *A Proposition for the Safety and Happiness of the King and Kingdom both in Church and State, and prevention of the Common Enemy. Tendered to the Consideration of his Majesty and the Parliament against the tenth of October. By a lover of Sincerity & Peace. The Second Edition, revised, corrected and enlarged by the Author. Together with a Reply to the pretended Answer to it* . . . (London, 1667). In all recent bibliographical works, this book has been ascribed, erroneously I believe, to David Jenkins.

Thus Donald Wing, under J-601 and 602 in his *Short-title Catalogue*, lists the first and second editions of this book; both were printed in 1667. According to Wing, copies of the first edition exist at the British Museum, the Bodleian, and Cambridge University Library. Copies of the second edition are at the Bodleian, Cambridge, and the New York Union Theological Seminary, although the book is not included in the McAlpin Catalogue. Halkett and Laing in their *Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature* (IV, 447) list the first edition and ascribe it to David Jenkins, saying that it has been wrongly attributed to John

Humphrey. In support of this they cite the *Dictionary of National Biography*, where, in the article on David Jenkins, *A Proposition for the Safety . . .* is definitely listed among Jenkins' works. The British Museum lists the first edition of *A Proposition for the Safety . . .* under Charles II, *King of Gt. Brit. and Ireland*, Vol. XXXV, 1015, of the new catalogue, and states unequivocally that it is by David Jenkins.

It is not surprising that the book has been attributed to Jenkins, since "To the Reader," which follows immediately after the title page, appears to be signed David Jenkins. Actually, the author of the book (John Humphrey, I imagine, since the body of the work is signed "J. H.") is quoting from David Jenkins. Thus he remarks on line 5, "Where is the man for loyalty and sincerity to his King, for understanding of the Laws and bravery of mind, to die in their defence, to be compared with Judge Jenkins?" On line 14 we find, "We of the Kings party (*sayes he*) did, and do detest . . ." While all of the early part of the "To the Reader" is in italics, the part in which he quotes Judge Jenkins is in Roman type. This quotation (in Roman type) continues through the second page to the end of "To the Reader." The quotation is signed "David Jenkins."

It should also be noted that David Jenkins died in 1663, four years before the first edition of this book was published. This would not be proof that he did not write the book if it were not for the fact that the title page of the second edition reads: ". . . The Second edition, revised, corrected and enlarged by the Author. Together with a Reply to the pretended Answer to it . . ." This Reply, in the second edition, covers pages 97 to 118. (The British Museum cites the first edition as having 94 pages.)

There is more evidence, however; the first part (that part which comprised the first edition) is signed "J. H." and dated June the 18th, 1667. On page 5 there is some internal evidence: "It hath pleased Heaven to visit us of late with his heavy and astonishing Judgements. The year before, he swept away our Citizens from their Houses; The last year, he swept away our Houses from the Inhabitants . . ." This is an obvious allusion to the Great Plague of 1666 and the Fire of London of September, 1666.

Thus David Jenkins, who died in 1663, could not have written this work. I cannot say with certainty whether the "J. H." who did write it is John Humphrey, but it does seem to be a reasonable supposition.

F. Brooke Whiting, II

William Andrews Clark Memorial Library
University of California at Los Angeles

"The Christmas Ordinary": Manuscript and Authorship

Entered in the *Stationers' Register* for June 29, 1660, along with ten other plays, is "*The Christmas Ordinary*, a Comedy, by Trinity Coll: Oxford."[1] In 1682 a play with the following title-page was published:

THE | CHRISTMAS | ORDINARY, | A | Private Show; | Wherein is expressed the *JOVIAL* | *FREEDOM* of that *Festival.* | *As it was Acted at a Gentleman's House among* | *other* REVELS. | [rule] | By W. R. Master of Arts. | [rule] | *Nill Lascivius est Carisiano;* | *Saturnalibus ambulat Togatus.* | Mart. lib. 6. Epigr. 22 | [rule] | LONDON | Printed for *James Courtney*, at the *Golden Horse-shoo*, | on Saffron Hill, 1682.[2]

No other printed version has appeared; and in spite of the statement of "W.R." in his preface to the printed play that it "hath . . . crawl'd out in Manuscript into some few hands," until the present no one has found a manuscript, or called attention to the fact that one, at least a part of one, exists.

In the British Museum MS. Sloane 1458, f36^{v}-f42^{r}, are four scenes and part of a fifth scene of a play entitled as follows:

The Christmas Ordinary. | A | Private shew, wherein is repre- | sented the Ioviall ffreedome | att this ffestivall. | At Trinity Colledge in Oxon | H.B. | Nihil lascivius est Carisiano. | Saturnalibus ambulat Togatus. | Val. Mart. C-G. Ep. 24.

The manuscript volume is a sort of commonplace book which probably belonged to Richard Enock, whose name appears twice on the title-page of the volume, with the date 1677.

Not until W. W. Greg assigned the printed play to William Richards (the "W.R." of the title-page) in 1939 did it have a claimant for its authorship.[3] The *Index to the Sloane Manuscripts in the British Museum*[4] attrib-

[1] *A Transcript of the Register of the Worshipful Company of Stationers; from 1640-1708 A.D.* Privately Printed (London, 1913), II, 271.

[2] This is taken from the title-page of the copy in the British Museum.

[3] W. W. Greg, *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration* (London, Printed for the Bibliographical Society at the University Press, Oxford, 1939), II, 1007. Donald Wing, in the *Short-Title Catalogue of Printed Books, 1641-1700*, III (1951), 141, follows Greg in assigning the play to Richards. Halliwell, *A Dictionary of Old English Plays* (London, 1860), p. 48, says that "It was originally acted at Trinity College, Oxford, and it was entered on the register of the Stationers' Company on June 29th, 1660." Allardyce Nicoll, Harbage, and Woodward and McManaway follow Halliwell, except that Harbage (*Annals of the English Stage, 975-1700*, Philadelphia, 1940, p. 125) gives the date of publication as 1683, instead of 1682, and indicates that no MS. is known. Although Wing attrib-

uted the manuscript of the "shew," on the basis of the initials "H.B." of its title-page, to "Henry Boxe of Trinity College, Oxford (1678-1687)." Thus our problem is posed: Is the manuscript fragment the same as the published piece? If so, who is the author, Richards or Boxe?

The first question is easily answered. Obviously the printed play is a slightly revised version of the form in which it appears in the manuscript. It deviates from the manuscript chiefly in these respects: It has a preface; the manuscript has none. Whereas the scene is given as the same in both, in the printed version the names of the *dramatis personae* have been mostly changed from academic Greek to English drawn from the Jonsonian humors tradition: for instance, "Dicastes, A Justice of peace" has become in the printed play "Mr. Make-Peace, A Country-Justice"; "Calinous, The Justices man" has become "Humphrey, The Justice's Man," and so on. Only the names of the characters of the "Inducted Show" are retained without change. The "Arguments" of the two are the same, except for the careful changing of the names to make them conform to the changed *dramatis personae* and except for a few compositor's corrections—and errors. The prologue of the printed play omits half of line nine and all of line ten, apparently because the compositor could not read his copy, and shows evidence of very minor revision. The printed text of the dialogue, aside from the careful substitution of the new names, differs in no essential from the manuscript. A few revisions are indicated, such as this in scene 2, in which the manuscript reads: "Arctophylax hath put a Ring in the nose of Ursa Minor," whereas the print reads, "Ursa Major." In the same scene the print reads, "and a Surloin of *Taurus* is Dressing, whilst Virgo turns the Spit," whereas the manuscript correctly reads, "a surloyn of Taurus | Is roasting . . ." These samples of the changes reveal the closeness with which the published version matches the manuscript. One further notable difference should be indicated: The manuscript up through line 4 of scene 4 is in verse; thenceforward to where it breaks off in the fifth speech of scene 5 it is in prose. But the printed play is, except for the songs and the "Inducted Show," of course, entirely in prose. The change from limping verse to racy prose and the substitution of Jonsonian comedy names for the academic names are the most important revisions made from the

utes *The Christmas Ordinary* to Richards (following Greg), he does not assign to him *Wallography* (1682), in spite of the fact that Anthony Wood and the *DNB* ascribe it to Richards. Like this play, all of Richards' works were published under his initials.

[4] By J. L. Scott (London, 1904), p. 72.

time we may suppose the manuscript was copied at Oxford until it was printed in London, and they were genuine author's improvements. Finally, no change of style is perceptible in the printed play from the point at which the manuscript stops: it was not begun by one hand and finished by another. The play is all of a piece.

But whose piece is it? The attribution of the manuscript to Henry Boxe seems out of the question. Boxe was not at Trinity College, Oxford, in 1660, when the play was entered in the *Stationers' Register*. He was not matriculated there until June 21, 1678, at the age of fourteen, being the son of Ralph Boxe (later Sir Ralph Boxe, master of the Mercers' Company) and grandson of Henry Boxe, founder of Whitney School, Oxfordshire.[5] He was thus scarcely of an age to write a play in 1682, when it was published, to say nothing of the fact that he was not yet born when it was entered in the *Register*. The assignment of the manuscript to Boxe came about very probably because in the same manuscript volume (Sloane 1458) appears a group of poems written in honor of Henry Boxe, the elder, founder of Whitney School. But the founder of the school, as Dr. Robin Flower rightly indicates in a hand-written note in the margin of the *Index of the Sloane Manuscripts*,[6] was the grandfather of the man to whom the manuscript has been attributed. Nor is the "shew" among the pieces in the volume written at the order of Francis Gregory, first master of Whitney School, as part of the celebration honoring Henry Boxe, the elder.[7] It is scarcely possible that either of the Henry Boxes could have had a hand in the writing of *The Christmas Ordinary*, and I prefer to think the initials "H.B." on the manuscript were placed there in error possibly by Richard Enock, the possible owner of the manuscript volume. Enock was at Trinity College from May, 1673, proceeding to M.A. in 1680. Not only does his name appear on the flyleaf, but in the manuscript volume are two poems signed by him. It seems altogether likely that the Trinity College entertainment came to his hand in manuscript and that he copied out a part of

[5] See *Alumni Oxoniensis*, Early Series (Oxford, 1891), I, 162-163.

[6] P. 72. The founder of the school, according to Anthony Wood, was Henry Boxe, a druggist of London. *Fasti Oxonienses* (1820), IV, 258.

[7] Gregory's son wrote for the occasion a poem which indicates the situation quite well. Formerly usher to Dr. Busby, Gregory was master of Woodstock School by 1654; he was created D.D. from St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, in 1661. He was made first master of Whitney, founded in 1660; hence the celebration must have taken place either in 1660 or 1661. Gregory had published his *Votum Carolo;* or *Welcome to his Sacred Majesty Charles II* in 1660. This was copied into the manuscript volume under discussion.

it into his commonplace book while he was at Oxford. There is, of course, the possibility that it may have been used at Whitney as part of the entertainment for Henry Boxe, the elder, and may have on that account got his initials fixed upon the manuscript title-page of the play. The date of the entertainment would not preclude the possibility. However that may be, the play was not written by Henry Boxe, as indicated in the *Index*.

The claims of Boxe being disallowed, what of those of William Richards, to whom Greg, without knowing of a manuscript, assigns the printed version? Is Greg still correct? Richards was at Trinity College as an undergraduate at the proper time to have written it for student production, though Greg thinks it unlikely that the College authorized the play or countenanced its production, as the entry in the *Stationers' Register* seems to suggest.[8] Richards' initials appear on the title-page. The Preface, signed "W.R." Helmdon, Octob. 18. 1682," compared with known selections from Richards' writings such as *Wallography*, reveals an unmistakable likeness to Richards' prose; and, though it refers to the writer in the third person, both its substance and its flippant tone, especially in the last paragraph, indicate virtual admission of authorship, a fact that Greg does not take into account. Of the play W. R. writes:

'Tis the First-Born of a young Academick Head, which since hath been Deliver'd of most excellent Productions. It hath lain Dormant almost half an Age, and hath only crawl'd out in Manuscript into some few hands; who likeing the Entertainment they found in it, thought it too good a Morsel to be Devour'd by Moths, but suppos'd it a fitter Bit to feed some Book seller, and therefore wisht it might rather be advanc'd to the Clutches of the one, than miserably be condemn'd to the grinders of the other.

In the last paragraph he jokingly commends the "Ingenious Passages," "Humorous Conceits," and "lively Descriptions" as being the equal of those in "the most celebrated Dramatick." Still in his flippant mood, he says that if the beauties of the piece do not

allure the Reader, then let the Deformity of the Shape invite and draw him; for 'tis neither exact Comedy, Farce, or Tragedy, but a spatch'd Chimaera . . . 'Tis a

[8] Greg thinks the entry should have read, "a comedy by [W.R. student of] Trinity College." *Op. cit.*, II, 1008. He argues that the entry seems to indicate that the College officially sponsored the play, but thinks that Richards was at the time too young to have written anything the College would risk endorsing. Actually Richards may have been in his third year at Oxford, and the play, though already entered in the *Register*, may have been designed for production on the Christmas after the Restoration.

Monster in Learning, as great as many that occurs in Nature, and if men will not read it for its Ingenuity, yet I hope they will come to see it as a Prodigy, and so gratifie their Curiosity, if not please their Fancy.

These are the deprecatory remarks of a fond author as he looks back in amusement at his earliest effort; they are not eulogistic, as suggested by Greg.[9]

The facts fit perfectly well. One manuscript that "crawl'd out" we now know. The *Stationers' Register* furnishes a date which agrees well enough with "almost half an age" since, when Richards was "a young Academick Head" at Trinity College. Admitting as humorous the remarks about his later productions, we know that Richards had by 1682 published his *English Orator* (1680), the Preface of which is characterized by the same kind of humor as the Preface to *The Christmas Ordinary* (and indeed its lines also), and *Wallography* (1682), a humorous and satirical description of Wales in much the same vein.[10] It is conceivable, however unlikely, that Richards while at Trinity College acquired the manuscript written wholly or in part by "H.B.," whoever he was, and that he twenty-two years later ("half an age") produced it at "a Gentleman's House" at Helmdon, where he was rector of his native parish; but it is far more likely that he produced his own undergraduate entertainment written about the time of the Restoration, remembering as he did so the circumstances of its first coming out, and then, encouraged by its reception, turning it over to his publisher James Courtney. That he took an unfinished manuscript of less than half the play, such as this one, revised and completed it, is not possible because the fragment is obviously a part of a work already complete. The "Argument" both in the manuscript and in the printed version is, ex-

[9] Greg also speaks of the facetious quality of these remarks. He interprets the statement that the play had lain dormant for "half an Age" to mean that it had been written for half a century or half a generation, which would date it in the thirties. Such a date would not be a possible one for Richards. But such need not be the case, and one need not treat Richards' language as loose. An *age* need not be a century, nor a generation a hundred years; rather, the more common interpretation for generation is about forty years. Half an age would then hit pretty well the time indicated by the entry in the *Register*, about 1660. Thus Greg's speech for possible arguments against his own assignment of authorship become weaker.

[10] The *DNB* tells us that "In the preface to a second anonymous edition [of *Wallography*], entitled *Dean Swift's Ghost* (London, 1753), the editor accused Richards of imitating Swift." On the flyleaf of a copy of this edition in the British Museum is pencilled this: "Poor imitation of Swift's style." The *DNB* is quite misleading. The writer of the preface to *Swift's Ghost*, having found it bound up with Swift's writings, publishes the piece with the proper date so as to relieve Swift of the onus of fathering this work.

cept for names, essentially the same; and although the manuscript breaks off before the "inducted shew" appears, that is provided for in the "Dramatis Personae." Thus the discovery of the manuscript does not bring into question the attribution of authorship. It rather strengthens Richards' claims. Until a likelier candidate than Henry Boxe is brought forward to displace Richards, Greg's assignment will stand—and upon even better grounds than he suggests.

Beyond considerations of authorship and identity of manuscript and printed play, the piece deserves some comment as to its worth and its very modest place in history. Even without W.R.'s later Preface, the academic names for the characters and the attempt at verse in the manuscript make its academic origin plain. That its title appeared in the *Stationers' Register* so soon after the Restoration may well indicate the new enthusiasm for the drama among the students, now that the ban on drama had been lifted.[11] The secondary title in itself is a rebuff to the Puritan attitude, not only toward plays, but toward the festival of Christmas as well: "A Private shew, wherein is represented the Joviall ffreedom of that ffestival." Although the scene is given as "Ubivis" ("where you will"), it is as unmistakably English as Jonson's *Alchemist*, or Massinger's *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*. The action takes place mostly in a public house, as the title indicates, and the time is "the present." The characters, though all good-natured, hark back to the satirical portraits of Jonson: a justice of peace, an astronomer's son, a jovial soldier, a poor 'Chyrurgeon" and his apprentice. Only roughly sketched, they have among them the braggadoccio soldier, the witty and clever servant, the doting father, and the deceitful but good-hearted son—all from Roman comedy ultimately, but now made native by Jonson and the Jacobeans. The plot is slight, but it furnishes a chance for much good-natured roistering in celebration of the festival. There are the beating of the host of the ordinary, the conventional satire on the doctor, the trickery played by the servant upon the renegade son and the boasting soldier, the masque of the seasons (the "inducted shew"), and the happy reconciliation. The spirit of it all is exuberant good-humor. The Latin comedy has been adapted to the English scene probably by the undergraduate's reading of Jonson and others.

More important, perhaps, than character and plot are the "Humorous Conceits" which W.R. mentions in his preface. Here are a liveliness and

[11] At Oxford this enthusiasm culminated in the building of the Sheldonian Theatre, completed according to Wood in 1669. See *The History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford* (Oxford, 1796), II, 796.

a sparkle of wit which might well make his friends encourage him to produce and to publish. The astronomical conceits must have delighted both college and private audiences:

> Sure the Heavens keep open house, for *Castor* and *Pollux* are drinking a Syllabub, in *via Lactea*, and *Vindemaitrix* pledges them in *Crater*. Yonder *Cephus* hath gotten the Arctic Pole for a Fishing Rod, tied to the Meridian Line, and is Angling for *Pisces; Crux*, *Pavo*, and *Columba* are a roasting ["dressing" MS.] by an *Ignis Fatuus*, and a Surloin of *Taurus* is Dressing ["roasting" MS.], whilst Virgo turns the Spit.

Or again, Roger, speaking of his master the surgeon says, "he lives like an Horse-Leach upon other Folks Blood" . . . or Drink-Fight's boast that in cold weather many is the time "I have lain down a man, and have rose up a Snow-ball." The talk is fast and the characters keep it up remarkably well: words spill from them, and there is no forcing. The drinking song preceding the masque is a rollicking one, if not witty, and can quite easily be set to music. The masque, when it is done, deserves better than Drink-Fight's comment: "This would have pass'd for an indifferent Masque in Guild-Hall, had it been Hammer'd out by a Company of Joiners." This masque of the seasons would pass very well at a gathering of ladies and gentlemen in a country house.

Altogether one must conclude that, had he kept his hand in, William Richards might well have brought sprightly comedies upon the professional stage. His boyish effort was decidedly promising.

Thomas B. Stroup

University of Kentucky

The Chronology of Carey Imprints

In 1885 the Lea publishing house of Philadelphia issued a slender booklet which contained a brief history of Mathew Carey's publishing activities and a description of the several lineal successors to his firm.[1] None of the dates given for these various firms were specific, and several were incorrect, yet succeeding references to these firms have been based upon the chronology contained in that book. This paper will attempt to correct that inaccurate chronology.

[1] *One Hundred Years of Publishing; 1785-1885*. In 1935 Lea & Febiger issued substantially the same work enlarged, with the title *One Hundred and Fifty Years of Publishing; 1785-1935*.

On January 1, 1817, Mathew Carey took his eldest son, Henry C. Carey, into partnership with him, and a new imprint, *M. Carey & Son,* was born. Henry was to receive $2,500 per year, "for which he binds himself to superintend the business."[2] Although only twenty-five years old at the time, Henry had already been actively employed in the book-trade for seventeen years and was well equipped to manage such extensive operations.

Early in 1821 Mathew's daughter, Frances, was married to a young Philadelphia scientist named Isaac Lea. Immediately upon their return from their honeymoon, on April 24 of that year, Lea entered the firm, and the imprint became *M. Carey & Sons.*[3]

The Lea firm's booklet places Mathew's retirement in the year 1824. A copy of a letter from the firm to George Lamson of Exeter, New Hampshire, however, dated January 9, 1822, states, "Our M. C. having retired from business, it will be conducted in future by H. C. C. & I. Lea."[4] Furthermore, a letter from Henry Carey to Mathew reminds the elder Carey of the specific date of the latter's retirement. "Jany 1, 1822," he writes, "you retired from business."[5]

H. C. Carey & I. Lea remained the imprint until April 10, 1827—the Lea firm's booklet says 1826—when the publishers took into partnership Henry's younger brother, Edward L. Carey.[6] The new firm, of which Henry controlled one-half and Edward and Isaac the other,[7] was called *Carey, Lea & Carey.* Edward had been employed by the firm since 1822 when he had been commissioned to travel to England and conduct some of its business in that country.

On November 1, 1829, the firm was divided.[8] Henry and Isaac, now calling themselves simply *Carey & Lea,* retained the publishing and wholesale bookselling trade. Edward allied himself with a young Philadelphia stationer named Abraham Hart and took over the retail book business.

[2] A copy of this contract is in the American Antiquarian Society. (All unpublished manuscripts used in this paper are quoted with permission.)

[3] *National Gazette and Literary Register* [daily], April 24, 1821.

[4] H. C. Carey & I. Lea Letter Books, Vol. 1. In the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[5] Letter dated Jan. 4, no year, in the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan.

[6] *National Gazette* . . . [tri-weekly], April 17, 1827.

[7] Letter from Henry to Mathew Carey, dated July 17, 1832, in the Clements Library.

[8] Letter from Henry to Mathew Carey, dated August 13, no year, in the Clements Library.

Within a month, however, *E. L. Carey & A. Hart* were also publishing over their own imprint. Carey and Hart were located on the southeast corner of Fourth and Chestnut Streets. Next door, the first door south of Chestnut on Fourth, were *Carey & Lea.*[9] The two firms worked closely together.

William A. Blanchard had been in the employ of the Carey firms for over two decades. On January 1, 1833,[10] he joined the original firm as a junior partner, and its imprint was changed to *Carey, Lea & Blanchard.*

By this time Henry had been over thirty years in the booktrade, and his interest in publishing was waning. As early as 1829 he had written to his father, "so sick am I of bookselling that if I could now command what if invested at 5 percent would give me 4000 dollars, I wd I think never sell another book."[11] His interests were turning rapidly to political economy, in which field he was to make the reputation for which he is chiefly remembered today. His first writing in that field was published in 1835. He did not, however, retire from publishing in 1836, as the Lea firm's booklet indicates, but remained actively in business until October 1, 1838.[12] On that date his name went out of the imprint.

Meanwhile, although Edward Carey died in 1845, his name remained in the *E. L. Carey & A. Hart* imprint until September 10, 1849.[13] His was the last Carey name to appear in an imprint.

In addition to the above, perhaps ten titles have been issued with the imprint, New York, *H. C. Carey & Co.* In April, 1822, Henry hired Daniel D. Arden, of Raleigh, North Carolina, to manage for him a branch establishment in New York. A store was rented on Broadway Street under the name *H. C. Carey & Co.* Arden proved to be an able manager, but publishing misfortunes, an epidemic of yellow fever, a burglary of the store, and the jealousy of the New York trade seriously hampered his attempts to make the store prosper. After exactly one year, on April 30, 1823, Henry closed out the New York branch.[14]

In outline form, then, the succession of imprints, and their corrected dates, should be as follows:

[9] *National Gazette* . . . [daily], November 2, 1829.

[10] *Ibid.*, January 1, 1833.

[11] Letter from Henry to Mathew Carey, dated December 30, 1829, in the Clements Library.

[12] *National Gazette* . . . [daily], October 1, 1838.

[13] *North American and United States Gazette,* December 13, 1849.

[14] See letters from Daniel D. Arden to H. C. Carey, and the H. C. Carey & I. Lea Letter Books, Vols. 1-2, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Jan. 1, 1817-Apr. 23, 1821	M. Carey & Son
Apr. 24, 1821-Dec. 31, 1821	M. Carey & Sons
Jan. 1, 1822-Apr. 9, 1827	H. C. Carey & I. Lea
Apr. 10, 1827-Nov. 1, 1829	Carey Lea & Carey
Nov. 2, 1829-Dec. 31, 1832	Carey & Lea
Jan. 1, 1833-Oct. 1, 1838	Carey, Lea & Blanchard
Nov. 2, 1829-Sept. 10, 1849	E. L. Carey & A. Hart
May 1, 1822-Apr. 30, 1823	H. C. Carey & Co.

David Kaser

Washington University
St. Louis, Missouri

An Unrecorded Sealsfield Publication

One early version of Charles Sealsfield's first work on America has thus far escaped the attention of Sealsfield scholars. In 1828 the *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages* published in three installments a "Voyage de M. Sidon, Citoyen des États-Unis, dans le partie occidentale de la Pennsylvanie, les états d'Ohio, Kentucky, Illinois, Missouri, Tennessee, le territoire d'Arkansa, les états du Mississipi et de la Louisiana, en 1826."[1] This is in reality a brief redaction of the second volume of Sealsfield's *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika . . . mit einer Reise durch den westlichen Theil von Pennsylvanien, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Missuri, Tennessee, das Gebeit Arkansas, Mississippi und Louisiana,* published over the signature "C. Sidons, Bürger der Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika."

The French version, a first person narrative, begins (like *VS,* II) with the departure from Kittaning, Pennsylvania, moves through old Harmony, thence overland to Columbus and Cincinnati, down the Ohio with various stops in Kentucky and Indiana, up the Mississippi to St. Louis, and finally down river to New Orleans. The principal difference is in reduction of detail. The French account is perhaps two-sevenths as long as the German. The English edition of this work, *The Americans as They Are; described in a Tour through the Valley of the Mississippi,* on the other hand, begins this western trip at Cincinnati and then follows the same route to New Orleans. It is much closer in content to *VS,* II, though the translation

[1] Deuxième Serie, VII (1828), 322-342; VIII (1828), 59-80, 175-217. Not listed in Otto Heller and Theodore H. Leon, *Charles Sealsfield: Bibliography of his Writings . . .*, St. Louis, Washington University, 1939 (Studies; new ser. Lang. and Lit., no. 11).

seems at times to be carelessly handled. In bulk the English is nearly three times the size of the French and about three-quarters that of the German.

The "Voyage de M. Sidon" was clearly the third redaction of the author's travel observations. The contract for publication of the German volumes was signed in October, 1826, and the work issued in 1827. The contract with Murray for *The Americans as They Are* was signed January 29, 1827, and the book published in March, 1828. At some time in January or February, 1827, Sealsfield was in Paris—perhaps he then arranged with the editor of *Nouvelles Annales* for the publication in French.[2]

Textual comparison of these three versions must await the attention of one of the Sealsfield scholars but one problem of dating immediately strikes the eye. The account in *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages* begins "Au mois d'octobre 1826, je partis de Kittaning . . ." How can this date be reconciled with the known dates in the author's life? Yet this was not an error of transcription by the French editor, for, although the "Voyage" was adapted from the German rather than the English issue, the same confusion of dating is found in *The Americans as They Are*. A number of passages in the latter suggest 1826 for the year and October and November for the months of the travels and in at least two of these instances that year is positively stated:

"During my stay [in Cincinnati], on the twenty-fifth of October" (p. 7)
"in the present year 1826" (p. 162)
"free schools are now (1826)" (p. 180)

Yet the preface to *VS* is dated "30 October 1826" and his correspondence shows that he was in Frankfort as early as September 16 of this year and that on October 31 he was in Stuttgart signing a contract for publication of *VS*.[3]

John Francis McDermott

Washington University

[2] Albert B. Faust, *Charles Sealsfield, der Dichter Beider Hemisphären* (Weimar, 1897), 181; Karl J. Arndt, "Recent Sealsfield Discoveries," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, LIII (April, 1954), 166. The advertisement to the Hurst, Chance & Co. issue is dated "London, March, 1828."

[3] Faust, *op. cit.*, 176-181.

*The Odyssey Press Edition of James Joyce's "Ulysses"**

The significance of the edition of James Joyce's *Ulysses* published in December, 1932, by The Odyssey Press, Hamburg, Paris, Bologna (following the eleventh and last printing at Dijon, by Darantière, for Shakespeare and Company, Paris, May, 1930), appears from this statement on the verso of the titlepage:

> The present edition may be regarded as the definitive standard edition, as it has been specially revised, at the author's request, by Stuart Gilbert.

From 1932 to 1939 this work was issued by the publisher, from substantially the same Monotype composition, in six forms, all approximately 18 x 11.1 cm., as follows:

A. Thin paper, one volume, pale gray cloth.

B. Regular edition, stiff gray paper covers. This and the following four printings were published in two volumes.

C. "*** Special edition, thirty-five copies, of which twenty-five only are for sale, were printed upon hand-made paper and signed by the author." Variously bound.

In the three foregoing, titlepage and verso are unchanged. On the verso appears: "First issued by The Odyssey Press: December, 1932." However, there are several typographical changes from A to B, and at least one notable correction from B to C, described below.

D. "Second Impression: October 1933." "Copyright 1933".

E. "Third Impression: August 1935." "Copyright 1933".

F. "Fourth Impression" "Copyright April 1939" Has newly composed titlepage, with typographic border.

The thin paper one-volume printing is by far the most compact volume yet made of *Ulysses:* it measures, overall, 7¼ x 4½ x ¾ inches. In a copy of this printing owned by Mr. T. Edward Hanley is the following note in blue pencil in the handwriting of Stuart Gilbert:

> Despite the "perfection" | of this version (I should | say "Edition"), five | misprints somehow | slipped their way | in! Hélas! | Stuart Gilbert

Next to this note Mr. Gilbert wrote in pencil five page numbers, in the

* Acknowledgments are made to Mr. Charles D. Abbott, Director of Lockwood Memorial Library, University of Buffalo; Mr. Joseph Prescott of Wayne University; Mr. Herbert Cahoon of The Pierpont Morgan Library, and Mr. T. Edward Hanley.

following order: 80, 548, 264, 715, 720. On each of these pages, except 264, he made marginal correction in pencil, as follows:

1. Page 80, line 2, "write" corrected to "wrote" (the same error occurs again in line 22). In both cases the word appears correctly as "wrote" in the first edition (Paris, 1922). R. F. Roberts, in his article "Bibliographical Notes on James Joyce's 'Ulysses'," *The Colophon*, New York, New Series I, 4 (Spring 1936), 565-579, called attention to these errors. They have not been corrected in any later printing by Odyssey Press or other publishers.
2. Page 548, line 19. "lumbs" corrected to "lumps". Corrected in D and correct in all subsequent printings.
3. Page 264, 9th line from end. "henev erheard" E closes the gap to "heneverheard". The Random House edition makes it three words. The Rosenbach manuscript has "henev erheard" according to Joseph Prescott. (One may conjecture Mr. Gilbert concluded the text was correct.)
4. Page 715, 5th line from end. "service' " corrected to "service)" Corrected in D and correct in all subsequent printings.
5. Page 720, line 12. "unpressed" corrected to "impressed" Corrected in E and subsequent printing.
6. Page 720, line 14. "blue," corrected to "blue". Corrected in D but not in later editions by other publishers.

Mr. Gilbert did not mention the page bearing the most obvious misprint in the thin paper printing:

7. Page 143, line 15. In "LINKS TH BYGONE DAYS OF YOREWI" the first two letters of the second word appear at the end of the line. This error, noted by Mr. Roberts, was corrected in C, but is present in A and B.

An independent, not comparative, reading of the last two episodes, pages 663-(792) of the thin paper printing, for typographical errors, reveals these further misprints in this portion of the text:

8. Page 717, line 15. "i" omitted in lighter.
9. Page 728, line 14. "t" omitted in products.
10. Page 728, line 15. "i" omitted in occasionally.
11. Page 774, line 1. "e" omitted in get.
12. Page 788, 9th line from end. "ywa" should be "way".

Of the twelve enumerated misprints in A, numbers 9, 10 and 12 were corrected in B; number 7 was corrected in C; numbers 2, 4, 6, 8 and 11 were corrected in D; number 3 was changed in E; number 5 was corrected in E; and number 1 alone has not been corrected in E or F, or in

any printing by other publishers. Misprints 8, 9, 10 and 11 appear not to be faults in composition but to have resulted from defects in make-ready. Numbers 7 and 12, however, involved a change in type.

Although Mr. Gilbert's note referring to five misprints (rather, misprints on five pages), is inscribed in a copy of the thin paper printing, it must have been based upon an examination of a copy of the "special edition" C, of which he was one of ten donees. This was the last printing in which errors numbered 2, 4, 5, 6, 8 and 11 appeared, errors numbered 9, 10 and 12 having been eliminated in B; and the first printing in which number 7 was corrected. The conclusion is that he may have been unaware that A, B and C were separate printings (or that, at the least, reprinted sheets had been substituted before issuance of B and C); indeed, nothing on the titlepage or verso thereof indicates that they are other than one impression, and they are treated as one in the numbering of later impressions.

The present note does not suggest that the misprints have textual importance; indeed they are trivial. These misprints do serve to differentiate the first three printings, and indicate the progressive correction in successive printings. This study does suggest that if, as is generally assumed, the Odyssey Press printings provide the best text, the "third" and "fourth" impressions, being the last two, are the best of these, and does tend to substantiate the claim for the quality of the text.

In the concluding pages of the thin paper printing are two additional apparent errors that are deviations from the first (Paris, 1922) edition. They were carried over from the eleventh printing of Shakespeare and Company (Paris, 1930).

13. Page 790, 7th line from end. "so" should be "to".
14. Page (792), line 7. "bigs" should be "big".

Number 13 persists in every subsequent printing of the book. Number 14 occurs in every Odyssey printing, and in the Limited Editions Club (1935) printing, but is corrected in the Random House (1934)[1] and in the John Lane (1936), which was advertised as the "final and definitive edition." Unfortunately, the latter two editions introduced many new typographical errors, arising partly from the zeal of proofreaders. On the

[1] See "Errata in Random House Edition" on pages xiii to xix in *Word Index to James Joyce's Ulysses*, by Miles L. Hanley. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1937.

other hand, it should be said that the errors in even the poorest edition, the pirated copying of the ninth Shakespeare printing, afford negligible obstacles to the reading of *Ulysses*.[2]

JAMES F. SPOERRI

Evanston, Illinois

A Unique "Shropshire Lad"

Among the treasures of the Lockwood Memorial Library of the University of Buffalo are three items that bear a significant relationship to one another and collectively to a heated passage in A. E. Housman's dealings with his publisher, Grant Richards. The first item is a rather bulky letter from A. E. H. to Richards; the second a book—blank but for a few pages of introductory matter and sixty-three small illustrations; the third a copy of the 1903 edition of *A Shropshire Lad*, it also containing the illustrations.

The letter was written after Housman had swept a jaundiced eye over thirty designs by Lovat Fraser which Richards hoped would tempt his author to give approval to an illustrated edition of his book. He did not approve, and the idea was dropped. Richards in his Memoir writes finis to the project with the glum comment: "As illustrations or decorations to *A Shropshire Lad* nothing came of Lovat Fraser's work, but, later, it was reproduced in a little book under the auspices of the First Edition Club."[1]

Housman's letter is in two parts: (1) five pages of manuscript on two folded sheets of letter-paper in which he complains of book illustrators in general and of Fraser's designs ("most of which I do not like at all") in particular,[2] condemns composers for "mutilating" his poems when they set them to music, and finally comments more amiably on a few other irrelevant matters; (2) a foolscap sheet of Notes on the individual designs, written full on one side, with six lines on the verso. The Notes

[2] Mr. Gilbert writes from Paris, in a letter dated February 1, 1956: "I was much interested by the article you enclosed in your letter of January 26. I believe the facts set forth by you are altogether correct. You are right in assuming that I was unaware there were several successive printings."

[1] *Housman, 1897-1936* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1942), 183. Housman's letter occupies the two preceding pages.

[2] He allows the comment "Very good" to one and grudging praise to five others. The twenty-four remaining are impaled with such gibes as "What a cherry tree!", ". . . quite inappropriate," "Lunatic at large," etc.

are in four divisions (probably to conform with four sections of the illustrations as Housman received them), each headed by its appropriate numeral centered in a blank line. Each Note begins on a new line, opened by a numeral designating the illustration and its related poem. There are nine in the first group, six in the second, seven in the third, and eight in the fourth.

The Lockwood Library also possesses a copy of the "little book" to which Grant Richards alludes. Its title is *Claud Lovat Fraser: Sixty-Three Unpublished Designs* (London, The First Edition Club, [n.d.]). Following a brief introduction by Holbrook Jackson there is a Note by A. J. A. Symons[3] giving some brief data on the composition of the volume. It appears that when the editors assembled the sixty-three designs for the purpose they had in mind, they found three of them marked respectively "Back of half-title," "Contents," and "Contents II." They set these aside and proceeded to the formidable task of joining the remaining sixty to their proper poems.[4] They must have made many doubtful decisions, for they were working with material that was none too explicit in purpose. The publishers make no mention of receiving aid from Fraser himself in the early stages of their plan (Fraser's death occurred before the appearance of the volume), nor from the list of thirty numbered and assigned illustrations exchanged between A. E. H. and Grant Richards.

That Symons and his colleagues worked on the whole blindly—or at the best in semi-darkness—in their efforts to number the illustrations correctly is proved by one of those small accidents that usually dog an uncertain enterprise. There are sixty-three lyrics in *A Shropshire Lad,* and for each of these Fraser produced an illustration; but now, with the three marked ones subtracted, there would have to be three numbers missing in the series. They are 27, 33, and 45. But Fraser did an illustration numbered 45. Housman saw it and labeled it in his Notes "Pretty, but hardly appropriate." If the identity of this design could not be recognized by the editors, how many others of their poem-picture joinings are open to question?

Whatever degree of satisfaction Symons may have felt as he held in his hand the book of Fraser's collected work, it must have seemed in a double sense an empty thing. There still remained the tantalizing notion of doing what A. E. H. had so many times balked at, in this case and others: bringing out the poems and the illustrations together. And this he

[3] He founded the First Edition Club in 1922.

[4] Jackson (p. xii) acknowledges the assistance of Mr. C. S. Millard.

did; for on the same shelf in the Lockwood Library with the First Edition Club volume is a copy of *A Shropshire Lad* illustrated by the sixty-three designs of Lovat Fraser *in the same order as shown in the other collection.*

Now this volume of Housman's poems, truthfully described as a "Unique Copy," was once exhibited in the Lockwood Library with a display card stating that it was a dummy made up by Grant Richards for Housman's inspection. But this claim, I believe, can be refuted simply on the grounds that the identical numbering of the designs in the dummy links it unmistakably with the First Edition Club book; for it is not to be imagined that any two persons or any two groups of persons working independently could, short of a miracle, ever rank sixty, or even thirty, of Fraser's designs in precisely the same order.

This copy of *A Shropshire Lad* is, therefore, "unique" in approximately the same sense that any book is unique after the owner writes his name therein. This harmless artifice—it deserves no harsher name, although it turned out to be a snare, and the value of the book is much diminished when its real origin is understood—[5] Symons produced simply by removing the cover from a copy of the 1903 edition of *A Shropshire Lad,* inserting another set of Fraser's illustrations at what he thought were the proper places, and replacing the binding. He must have smiled as he licked his bookplate and patted it down. Who could say now that A. E. Housman's poems and Lovat Fraser's pictures had never appeared together?

Tom Burns Haber

Ohio State University

[5] This unusual book, when it was sold with other parts of Symons's library, was handled with scrupulous care by Elkin Mathews, the dealers, who described it in their Catalogue 78 simply as a "unique copy, with proofs of the 63 Lovat Fraser designs pulled on white paper and inserted at the relevant poems." It was purchased by the firm of Charles Scribner's Sons, Ltd.

Book Reviews

Bibliography of American Literature. Compiled by Jacob Blanck for the Bibliographical Society of America. [Device.] *Volume One. Henry Adams to Donn Byrne.* New Haven, Yale University Press; London, Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1955. l, 474 pp. Plates. 10¼ x 7¾ inches. $15.00.

In the roster of bibliographies certain publications stand pre-eminent in their scope, their method and their usefulness. There are not many in this class, as an example or two will indicate—the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke,* for instance, or *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland . . . 1475-1640.* Among this group of giants are two that are essential to American studies: Joseph Sabin's *Dictionary of Books Relating to America,* continued by Wilberforce Eames and completed by R. W. G. Vail in 1936, and Charles Evans's *American Bibliography,* carried through the year 1800 by Clifford K. Shipton in 1955. Almost as if by the laying on of bibliographical hands, the first volume of Jacob Blanck's *Bibliography of American Literature* appeared on November 16, 1955. It was immediately apparent that another great bibliographer had emerged and that when the series of volumes has been completed another great tool for research will be available to collectors, librarians and scholars.

Such a project would be a financial impossibility without a benefactor. With imagination and boldness Mr. Josiah K. Lilly and the directors of Lilly Endowment, Incorporated, of Indianapolis have liberally subsidized the preparation of the manuscript by Mr. Blanck and his associates, and are continuing their aid. The extent of their generosity and faith can be gauged by the fact that this support was extended for ten years before the first volume was issued. The Bibliographical Society of America can also be proud of its more modest share in sponsoring the undertaking, administering the funds, and providing a supervisory committee drawn from its membership. The Yale University Press has courageously undertaken publication. Their confidence has been rewarded by the sale

of some thirteen hundred copies in the first few weeks after the publication of Volume One. The excellence of the Press's workmanship has been recognized by the selection of the volume as one of the Fifty Books of the Year by the American Institute of Graphic Arts.

In an essential and stimulating "Preface" Mr. Blanck explains the problems that faced him and the supervisory committee, the decisions and solutions they reached, and the methods he and his fellow workers employed in actually compiling the data. Obviously nothing was done lightly. It is characteristic of the whole enterprise that, in the editor's words, though "a profound respect has been maintained for the work of other bibliographers, . . . no statement was accepted, no matter how plausible, until or unless it had been checked and original sources, whenever possible, examined." The thoroughness with which this work was done is attested by the lists of "General References" and of "Principal Periodicals Consulted." Through the coöperation of the Library of Congress, of the Copyright Office, of various American non-governmental institutions and of the British Museum, deposit dates were obtained. The list of "Location Symbols" embraces sixty-one public or private collections in which Mr. Blanck and his associates have carried on their actual field work, examining in each anywhere from one or two to many thousand individual pieces. The entire *Bibliography*, from the preface onwards, is weighted with words of caution about interpreting the information given and with emphasis on the tentative nature of some of the presentations. It would be a rash reviewer who felt that he could so soon after publication give an adequate and comprehensive criticism of the methods and execution of a work of such scope as *Bibliography of American Literature*. A judgment worth hearing can be given only after long association and consideration. The best that a reviewer can offer at present is such observations as a preliminary use and superficial acquaintance permit.

The initial decision that the supervisory committee, in consultation with Mr. Blanck, had to reach was on the scope of the undertaking. *Bibliography of American Literature* as currently planned will cover the work of writers between the Revolution and the Great Depression. It may later be decided to extend the bibliography to those who died after 1930, the present terminal date. The criterion for inclusion was significance "for any reason . . . in American, not necessarily world, literature." Authors of histories, juveniles, medical, scientific, theological and travel books, etc., were excluded unless their work was primarily of literary interest. As he points out, the editor had various sources of assistance in making his choices. Not only were the entries in Sabin and Evans—

both more comprehensive in selection—available but also those of earlier listings and bibliographies of American literature found in the "General References": the Leon brothers (1885), Stone (1893), Foley (1897), Wegelin (1902 *et seq.*), and Johnson (1929, 1932), of which last book two revisions (1936, 1942) were made by Mr. Blanck himself. The supervisory committee examined the choices and invited comment from informed outside sources. Volume One, which contains the letters A and B, covers forty-one authors. If the same standards of choice are applied to these two letters in the *Bibliography* of the *Literary History of the United States* (1948) by Spiller, Thorp, Johnson and Canby, an authoritative volume, *Bibliography of American Literature* will be found to have twenty-two more authors. Inevitably the choices will not please everyone—including those responsible for the bibliography. Exception will be taken on grounds both of exclusion and inclusion according to personal taste. Therefore it must be kept in mind that the authors included do not represent the taste of one individual.

It was next decided to cover each author comprehensively, except for periodical publication, and to group the findings in three sections. The first section contains primary books described in full; off-subject (i.e., nonliterary) books, secondary books (contributions), reissued editions, books edited, separate editions (i.e., an extract from a primary book), twilight (anomalous) books, and sheet music, all described briefly. For convenience each entry is numbered. It may prove that sheet music should have been traced more exhaustively or omitted, to use the editor's words, as "an involved study in its own right." The second section contains reprints from other, earlier books, which seem to have been included more from a negative than a positive point of view: to prevent their being mistaken, as some have been, for first book appearances. The section is kept to a minimum, however, by the omission of "obvious reprints." As the entries are described in brief form and are not numbered, they clutter the volume as little as possible. The third section is a catch-all entitled "References," containing biographies, bibliographies, and publications "which do not fall readily into . . . the first two sections."

The last problem facing the supervisory committee and Mr. Blanck undoubtedly posed the most vexing difficulties: "to evolve an acceptable form of description." The transcription of title-pages and imprints was not literal or necessarily complete but was reduced to a simple formula that seems reasonable for a work of this large scope. The decisions on other matters of form such as pagination, signature collation and binding are clearly explained. It was an inspiration to include the plates of cloth

grains and designations. An explanation of the designations would have been interesting, though obviously not essential. Will not an enumeration of flyleaves be necessary in some cases like Holmes's *Over the Teacups* (Boston, 1891), where the flyleaves are of importance to an accurate description of the book? Perhaps it was unavoidable that some of the examples used in the "Preface" will be available for detailed reference only when volumes covering later letters of the alphabet are published. At the moment it is a disadvantage.

In that section of the preface entitled "Definitions of Terms" the user of the *Bibliography* is in need of greater elucidation than is given. On vexed matters of edition, printing, issue, state, to which can be brought notions already established by another bibliographer or confusion created by disagreement among bibliographers over their terms, the editor has so little to say that the user cannot be entirely sure of the basis of definition. For instance, under "Edition," it is not possible to tell exactly how Mr. Blanck intends the statements made there and on p. xx about second editions, later editions, revised editions, and extended editions to be understood and interrelated (entry 15, for example). The example given without comment under "Printing" cannot be expected to supply all the reader might need to know about the relation of printings to editions, issues and states to be sure that he is following the editor (entry 753, for instance). Definitions by a single example can hardly be expected to meet 2,500 or so situations. And the statement that "One could be persuaded that virtually *any* typographic change in a book printed from plates after . . . 1825, indicates a new printing and not a state or issue," unaccompanied by any further explanation than a dig at the reader's "imperfect knowledge of production methods of the 19th and 20th centuries," is not much help to those who would be Mr. Blanck's willing pupils.

The difficulties that may be encountered in the *Bibliography* will be small in comparison with the usefulness of this magnificent enterprise. It is to be hoped that the publishers intend to reprint the "Preface" in each volume for the needs of those who will buy individual volumes and for speedy reference for all. Perhaps they will also add to this handsome format a table of authors' names and an index for the information included in the notes. These would be only extra conveniences in a series of volumes that will be a landmark in the history of bibliography.

John D. Gordan

The Berg Collection
The New York Public Library

WILDE, OSCAR FINGAL O'FLAHERTIE WILLS. *The Importance of Being Earnest, A Trivial Comedy for Serious People, in Four Acts as Originally Written, by Oscar Wilde.* New York, The New York Public Library, 1956. 2 Volumes. Vol. I, i-xxiii [xxiv-xxviii], 184 pp. Vol. II, [1-6], 372 collotype pp. $20.00. (Arents Tobacco Collection Publication No. 6.)

Considering the fact that *The Importance of Being Earnest* is one of the masterpieces of English comedy, it seems almost incredible that the text as it was originally written in four acts has just been published for the first time. It is true that the German translation, by Hermann Freiherr von Teschenberg, published at Leipzig in 1903 and entitled *Ernst Sein!* is in four acts. However, the comedy was first produced in London, in 1895, as a three-act play; it was first published, at the Chiswick Press, in 1899, as a three-act play; and it has been known as a three-act play by innumerable readers and playgoers throughout the English-speaking world ever since.

Nevertheless, it was also known to a few persons that Wilde himself had shortened the comedy from four acts to three. It is recorded in the Lord Chamberlain's Office as a four-act play entitled "Lady Lansing," according to the counterfoil of the license to perform dated January 30, 1895, although the copy deposited by Wilde is a three-act play. It is mentioned in Hesketh Pearson's *Oscar Wilde* (1946) as a four-act play shortened to three acts at George Alexander's insistence, a fact divulged to Pearson by Alexander himself. It is referred to as a four-act play "boiled down" to three acts, probably for the first time in print, by St. John Hankin in an article for *The Fortnightly Review* (1908). James Agate, alluding to the German translation in an essay for *The Masque* (1947), declared that "The fun in the act that Wilde deleted is better than any living playwright can do." Finally, it was known as a four-act play to Robert Ross, Wilde's friend and the executor of his estate, for either Ross or someone acting for him submitted a four-act typescript in 1903 to the German translator.

Now, at last, it is possible here to read the play as Wilde wrote it. The work consists of two clearly printed and handsomely bound volumes, somewhat larger than the twelve large-paper copies of the first edition printed in 1899, but bound in covers patterned after the original binding in vellum used for the twelve special copies, and with the cover-design by Charles Shannon. Reflecting on the two volumes, Miss Sarah Augusta Dickson, who is responsible for assembling the text, remarks in

an introduction: "It is difficult to keep from believing that, if Oscar Wilde had known that the four-act version of *The Importance of Being Earnest* was still available, in typescript form and with his own corrections, he would have preferred to publish his comedy as he had originally conceived it. By printing the entire text of the comedy as Wilde wrote it and reproducing as much of the typescript which he corrected as has been discovered, we believe that we are fulfilling what would have been the wishes of the author."

In her introduction in Volume One Miss Dickson tells the history of the known manuscripts of the play; gives a check-list for each act in the play of the typescripts, including presumable as well as located copies; traces the ownerships of a number of manuscripts and typescripts, and mentions some of the early productions in England, Germany, and the United States. Following the introduction is the printed text of the play.

In the second volume, Miss Dickson has arranged 372 collotype facsimiles of the manuscripts and typescripts in the Arents Tobacco Collection. These are: the typescript of Act I, a considerably changed version of the first draft; the manuscript of Act II; and the earliest typescripts of Act III and IV before Wilde shortened them. These versions of the play, with Wilde's own deletions and changes, differ from both the manuscript and published versions.

Even while he was writing the comedy, Wilde thought of its stage production. Of the dozen or more letters by Wilde relating to the play, there are several addressed to the previously mentioned George Alexander, the actor-manager of St. James's Theatre. In the earliest, Wilde wrote from London, during the summer of 1894, that he is composing a comedy, and offers Alexander the refusal of it. In another letter, dated September, 1894, from Worthing, where he was spending his vacation, Wilde writes to Alexander that the play is the best he has ever written; that he hopes to make £3,000 out of it in the United States; and that he wishes to learn what Alexander will pay for it. In still another letter, written after his return to London and apparently in October, Wilde writes to Alexander that he has finished his farce-comedy; that although "the play is not suitable to you at all" but, rather, to actors like Wyndham and Hawtrey, he is sending Alexander a copy of it; and, finally, that while he has entitled the play "Lady Lansing," the real title is *The Importance of Being Earnest.*

There is nothing surprising about this change in title; indeed, it was apparently Wilde's customary procedure to give alternate titles for his

plays, doubtless to prevent premature announcements of them. All the titles on the manuscripts of his three plays at the British Museum are different from those used in their published versions. Thus "A Good Woman" was the first title of *Lady Windermere's Fan*; "Mrs. Arbuthnot" was the first title of *A Woman of No Importance*; and "Mrs. Cheveley," the first title of *An Ideal Husband*.

The license issued by the Lord Chamberlain was for a four-act play; but, as has already been noted, the copy deposited is in three. By the last week in December Alexander had become indifferent to Wilde's play, and had selected for production *Guy Domville*, by Henry James. The selection was most unfortunate. The first performance of *Guy Domville* on January 5, 1895, was a lamentable failure, and it was to replace this failure with a probable success that Alexander resumed negotiations with Wilde for *The Importance of Being Earnest*, insisting that Wilde shorten the play, which Wilde reluctantly did.

The first performance of *The Importance of Being Earnest* at the St. James's Theatre on February 14, 1895, was an instant success. On April 22, 1895, Charles Frohman gave the first performance of the play in America at the Empire Theatre, New York, where it ran for a week. Of the several reproductions in this work, one of greatest interest is a plate after a photograph of a scene in the American production showing Henry Miller, William Faversham, Viola Allen, and May Robson among the members of the cast.

The opening performance in London was Wilde's "last first night," for on April 5, 1895, as the result of evidence emanating from his lawsuit for libel against the Marquis of Queensberry, Wilde was himself arrested and charged with offenses under the Criminal Amendment Act. On May 25, 1895, he was found guilty, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment with hard labor. On May 19, 1897, he was released from prison, leaving England never to return. Thereafter he lived in France. It was not until May 10, 1898, that he wrote Robert Ross concerning *The Importance of Being Earnest*, that he was awaiting a typewritten copy of his play which he wished to prepare for the printer. The text, published in 1899, is based on the acting version.

The reader will gain almost no idea of the wealth of material in the present four-act version of the play, from the English broadcast of one fragment of it published in *The Listener* for November 4, 1954, as "The Importance of Being Earnest, the 'lost' scene from Oscar Wilde's play." To speak of this fragment as "the 'lost' scene" is misleading. There is no

one "lost" scene; and the fragment constitutes about four per cent of the hitherto unpublished text.

In writing of "a few of the more conspicuous excisions" caused by shortening the play, Miss Dickson states: "The most obvious of these is the removal of the solicitor Gribsby, who comes to arrest Algernon for debt, and the whole scene in which he appears." And: "The most considerable cuts occurred in the second and third acts which were merged when the play was produced. One significant change which was effected in this process was in the importance of Canon Chasuble, to whom Wilde had given a large number of speeches in the first draft; almost all of these persisted up to the late typescript from which the German translation was made."

Aside from the pleasure of reading the uninterrupted text as presented in the first volume, there is also the satisfaction gained from an examination of the manuscripts and typescripts presented in the second. One can follow the dramatist as he worked, almost incessantly, on what he considered his "best" play, which was not "dashed off" at the seashore as the English broadcaster commented, but was Wilde's chief care and concern from the summer of 1894 to the end of January, 1895, when he deposited his shortened version at the Lord Chamberlain's Office. The presentation of the various texts of the play is a scholarly achievement; and its publication is a literary event.

Theodore Bolton

The Century Association
New York

Streeter, Thomas Winthrop. *Bibliography of Texas 1795-1845.* Part I. Texas Imprints. Vol. I, 1817-1838. Vol. II, 1839-1845. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1955. lxxi, 259; 263-616 pp., 8 pages of collotype facsimiles. 10¼ x 6¾ inches. $20.00. Edition of 600 copies.

Thomas W. Streeter, Texan neither by birth nor residence, began this bibliography in 1927. Earlier business trips to the state first awakened his interest in its history, and he had become a dedicated collector of the books of Texas some years before he decided to become their bibliographer. His collection, first known to a small circle of bookmen, was introduced to a wider audience in 1936, when many of his best items were exhibited at The New York Public Library, and, later in the same year, at

the Texas Centennial Exposition at Dallas. The collection as a whole illustrates how well the vigorous, studious private collector can uncover and preserve little-known material; and how much he can contribute to the bibliography and history of his subject.

Mr. Streeter says in his Introduction, "I became fascinated by the history of the early colonization of Texas, with the drama of its revolution from Mexico and the successful establishment of its republic." This statement gives an indication of the period he has made his own. He chose the date 1795 as a starting point because Henry Wagner's *The Spanish Southwest* (Berkeley, Calif., 1924) had already covered Texas material from 1542 to 1794. (The bibliography is happily dedicated to Mr. Wagner, "the old master in whose footsteps I have tried to follow.")

The terminal date was set by the clear-cut end of an historical period and the beginning of another. After 1845, when Texas entered upon its new but no less astonishing career as a state, its imprints are recorded in Ernest W. Winkler's *Check List of Texas Imprints, 1846-1860* (Austin, 1949). Mr. Winkler, former Librarian of the University of Texas, is one of the many bibliographers to whom Mr. Streeter generously gives thanks for assistance.

The present work is only the first part of the bibliographical studies made by the author on this half-century of Texas history. Part II, still to be published, will record all Texiana printed in what is now Mexico during the period 1795-1845; Part III will cover the rest of the world. In all, there will be over 1,900 entries. Raines' *Bibliography of Texas* (Austin, 1896) has only two hundred entries for these years. Raines' pioneer work has served as a useful guide to Mr. Streeter and to the rest of us, but the area for which it must be consulted is growing very narrow.

In his Introduction, Mr. Streeter voices the dismay of most bibliographers in their discovery of the time and effort required for such a work. Choosing a subject which seemed to promise a quick and painless conclusion, he has seen the years pass in a search which involved many bibliographers, collectors and librarians. His enjoyment of the work obviously persisted, not only through the discovery of new books and new facts, but also through making such lists as the five—or fifteen—imprints he would select if he were so limited; or through compiling a census of the collections which had the most titles. When the other parts are published it will be seen that Mr. Streeter has much the largest collection on record.

The Introduction is followed by "A Brief Sketch of Printing in Texas through the Year 1845." This 31-page essay is fairly bristling with facts,

many of which correct errors found in earlier studies. The first printing on Texas soil was achieved in 1817, but the earliest surviving imprint is dated 1823. (It is in the Bancroft Library.) Samuel Bangs, Mr. Streeter finds, must share his honors as the first to print in Texas with John J. McLaran. The development of printing may be divided into three phases: a period when presses were set up momentarily by military expeditions and the provisional government; 1829-1835, when one press of a more permanent nature was in operation (a second press was briefly active in 1829), and 1835-1845, when many presses were active. Historically, Texas passed in these years from Spanish to Mexican rule, changed from a province to an independent republic (1836), and in 1845 consented to its annexation to the United States.

The bibliography has 670 entries, with 24 sub-entries. Described clearly and without over-elaboration, they are provided with admirable annotations. Copies are located in seventy-nine libraries and three private collections. By count of entries the strongest collections are those in the University of Texas, Mr. Streeter's own collection, the Texas State Library and the Grand Lodge at Waco.

Besides the English titles, there are works printed in Spanish and two in Latin—the latter serving to remind us of the Roman Catholic background of early Texas. Some texts were printed in bilingual editions, others were issued in separate versions for Spanish and English readers. The Spanish titles are not really numerous, as most of the official documents in that language were printed in Mexico and will be described in Part II.

In subject matter the imprints of Texas are remarkable. In what other list of materials coming from the presses of a city, state or country can we find that practically everything has a definite historical significance? Other imprint lists usually give some notion of the area they cover but by their nature must include a good deal of material which is neither important nor curious except as printing history. The Texas pioneers, however, did not put trivia into type, and evidently imported their textbooks, novels and other books for general reading. Their own presses turned out what have now become the sources of Texas political history, and they did so almost exclusively. Because of this, and because of Mr. Streeter's perceptive annotations, the bibliography becomes a work which all historians of Texas will have to consult, not only as a guide to printed materials but also as an interpretation of their historical significance.

Two or three publications came earlier, but it is only in the later years

of the period that we get even a dim reflection of cultural and social activities of the pioneers. They are to be found in invitations to balls and theatrical events, in the publications of religious denominations and fraternal orders, in the poetry of Carriers' Addresses, and, showing that Texas responded to the enthusiasms of its neighbor, in a phrenological chart.

Three appendixes complete this part of the bibliography: one devoted to newspapers; one to unidentified public documents mentioned in printers' bills, and one to the bibliographical perplexities of the Journals of the Convention of March, 1836, one of the major documents of Texas history. Some of the problems of the two imperfect copies which have survived still escape solution.

Since all of the Texas printing from 1829 to 1845 originated in newspaper establishments, Mr. Streeter gives newspapers a treatment similar to Clarence Brigham's in *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820* (Worcester, 1947). He has been able to add many locations to those found in *Texas Newspapers, 1813-1939, A Union List of Newspaper Files* (Houston, 1941). His list includes 101 papers, published or proposed, but most of them were exceedingly short-lived, and of the few hardier ones, none lasted into this century.

The bibliography has been printed by The Anthoensen Press, with collotype plates made by The Meriden Gravure Company. It is well indexed and skilfully organized. As a contribution to scholarship it has the marks of thoroughness and care which give it permanent value, not only as a definitive record of Texas imprints to 1845 but also as a model for other scholars who are working on bibliographies involving similar problems.

GERALD D. MCDONALD

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